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Shaphalya Amatya

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प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाका समयको नेपाल-भोट युद्धको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री ५०-५८

"**प्राचीन नेपाल**" का निमित्त प्राग्-इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

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A Cultural Heritage Conservation Strategy in the Context of Urban Development

(The Case of Kathmandu, Nepal)

- Hans Christie Bjønness[1]

INTRODUCTION: CONTEXT

Considerations of an urban cultural heritage conservation strategy cannot be made based on conservation needs alone. Developmental issues have also to be taken into the picture *per se* and in terms of strategy required to overcome both conservational and developmental problems.

Or to put it another way: *The problems of urban heritage conservation must also be considered as developmental problems.* Based on this *the aim of this article is to sketch a cultural heritage conservation strategy in the context of urban development - with specific reference to the case of Kathmandu, Nepal.*

This view on problems of urban cultural heritage conservation is not new in Europe. Where this, in fact, is part of an old debate related to the role of the indigenous population, and local governments, in the urban conservation and development process and the degree of modernization and development of our historical cities. (Geddes 1986, Appleyard 1979, Isar 1986).

This has actuality in the case of the inner cities of many Historical Cities of Asia where the number of habitants actually are growing, and where the historical core still is the city's centre for economic activity and growth catering for the city and its "upland". These inner cities are assumed to be "generative" rather that "parasitic"[2].

My points of departure for strategy considerations are twofold. On the one hand we have to take the *nature* of the historic Asian cities into consideration. These cities have mostly the urban

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1 Professor Dr. Address: University of Trondheim, the Norwegian Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, Division of Town and Regional Planning. N - 7034 TRONDHEIM - NTH, Norway.

2 "A city will be designated as generative if its impact on economic growth is favourable, i.e., if its formation and continued existence and growth is one of the factors accountable for the economic development of the region or country in which it is located. A city will be considered parasitic if it exerts the opposite impact" (Hoselitz, 1955 page 279).

structure intact, but with a tremendous pressure from a growing population, and resulting privatization and commercialization in front of a small scale economy and business potential.

The other point deals with the *participation perspective.* Most of the nations in South Asia are market oriented and what Myrdal calls "soft states" (Myrdal 1968). The role of central as well as local governments are marginal. In a process of conservation and development efforts, it becomes essential to work "with the people". Awareness raising, peoples participation in decision making and their active mobilization become in focus. A main challenge is to sustain peoples representative organizations.

Looking at the process of development or underdevelopment *within* the historic cities of South Asia, there are, very generalized, dual processes. It is of importance to recognize this both in terms of strategy response and when it comes to the required extent of external interventions. On the one hand we see some parts of the city centre as "growth centres", developing fast, with economic potential and positive, generative role. On the other hand, there are parts of the historic centres of the Asian cities, in particular in a LDC like Nepal, which suffer from social and economic underdevelopment. In transition zones we face the problem of *gentrification,* which is "the process of invasion of well located and attractive low-income areas by middle and higher income population" (Nientied et al. 1982). The result is that the "economically weaker sections" are marginalized. However, in the inner cities of South Asia, commercialization of a growing corporate sector, is the main threat. The small scale economy represents an economic potential locally, but also a threat to conservation and housing needs.

Areas of interest of conservation, in the Newari towns of the Kathmandu valley, are mainly in the "nucleus" of the city centres planned on a Hinduist and Buddhist basis (Piper, 1975: Rykwert 1976; Gutschow, 1982, and Tiwari 1988; with references to Hindu city planning code and the history of development of the Kathmandu valley cities). There was a social concentric stratification around the religious centre and the palace. However, the periphery, with the low caste and class settlements also are significant parts of the city in an attempt to conserve the "real" picture of the social organization and physical environment.

The strategy, and resulting project proposal, which will be presented here is based on what I call: *"The Living City Concept".* Conserving and developing Kathmandu as a "Living City" implies sustaining its strong *identity of the past,* but living physical and cultural heritage, and contemporary cultural activities; its *economic potential,* the *habitation of the original population* which is still in majority, and its potential for improved *self-reliance* through a reinforced *local government structure.*

The point of departure is a *positive concept of growth* within the historical cities. An economically sustainable situation is seen as necessary for the upkeeping of the historical heritage and conserving the environment. This should, in the longer term, be in the interest of sustained economic growth in addition to improving the quality of the habitable environment through the upkeeping of the historical heritage.

Therefore a strategy, aiming at conserving the historical inner cities of Asia, can not aim at conservation measures alone. It becomes a challenge, both within the formal and informal processes of development, to relate the conservation perspective to developmental efforts, or to initiate *a planning and implementation of conservation in the context of urban development and environment.*

This article will mainly review the attempts of

a project proposal to formulate a strategy of urban conservation in the context of development and environment. The project is entitled *"Kathmandu Urban Heritage Conservation and Development Project"*[3] (Bjønness 1992 b). The project is under consideration for finance by the involved parties, His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N), UNDP and UNESCO. It was a participatory project development process where the premises in a situation of a changing institutional framework for urban development and conservation was openly discussed and clarified (Bjønness ed. 1992 a).

The article is organized in four parts. In part one, the value base and the overall ideas behind the project are outlined. What is behind a positive departure like the "Living City" concept, and how can it be used in formation of objectives for the project? How can this concept facilitate a planning and implementation of conservation in the context of urban development and environment?

Secondly, in part two, the questions are : What are the specific problems and the processes of change threatening the ancient historical monuments, the urban identity and structure in the case of Kathmandu? What are the issues of conservation and development in Kathmandu?

Thirdly in part three, what could be the adequate responses, limited to the scope of a project? What are the shifts in project strategy this project addresses and the main project content in terms of human resource development, planning approach, skill training and project organization?

And finally, in conclusion: In Nepal, and Asia today, what are the project challenges of historical inner cities conservation in a context of developmental and environmental upgrading needs? What could be the influence of an increased international importance to culture in the context of development?

PART 1 "Living city" concept, challenges of planning and international collaboration.

It is of overall importance to take a constructive departure working with the complexity of issues and magnitude of problems related to upgrading of historical inner cities. However, in a process of fast and accelerating change, the complexity of the situation, as well as the vested interests involved, should not be underestimated. The process of works, with the project document, started with asking: what could be the main elements of a strategy of inner city upgrading *in the interest of the indigenous population?* The reply, is a project strategy, with objectives and methodology based on a fourfold approach within *the concept of "living city"* to historical inner city upgrading.[4]

(i) *to strengthen the identity* of people and place and an indigenous development based on civic pride and awareness.

Kathmandu still has its significant identity of

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3 The full reference for the project is : His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N)/UNESCO / UNDP Project NEP 92 / 004.

4 I am indebted to professory Wu Liangyong, Beijing; and professor Edgar Ribeiro, New Delhi, for insight into their work. The 4th Asian Congress of architects, New Delhi 1990, and in particular, the theme of the congress: *"Architecturs, Development and Environment - in an Asian Context"*, gave "food for thoughts" in terms of its reality, actuality and wide scope. My contribution was based on an analysis of urban eco-development, its values and practice (Bjonness 1991 a). However, the articulation of the concept on the "Living City", as it presented, is my own, mainly based on the Kathmandu experiences and optimism created with the introduction of a new, democratic local government system in Nepal.

place. Historical temples and monuments and a medieval city structure still persist the heavy process of change, but the situation is changing at an accelerating speed.

(ii) *to ensure habitation* for the original population.

The inner city of Kathmandu is still mainly inhabited by its original inhabitants, the Newars, with their strong communal traditions and feelings, and skills within arts and crafts. That they remain in the city core seems a guarantee that many of the traditional customs and practice of festival traditions, once so important in the creating of urban space, will prevail over time. At the same time other population groups in the city must not be neglected in the present - day dynamic culture. One should realize, that there is no such thing as a pure culture, and in order to meet the future, other ethnic groups and migrants should be taken into consideration as a valuable supplement. This should be included in the planning process to avoid xenophobia which, in many cities, destroys the quality of urban life. This is within a *preventive approach* closely tied to awareness and civic pride.

(iii) *to enhance the viability* and promote the requirements for economic development and work opportunities, particularly for groups below poverty line.

The Kathmandu inner city has a potential for economic development and future growth, in particular of the identity of place will remain. Conscious efforts have to be made to ensure that economic development will benefit the overall population. This is, within the small scale economy, a particular challenge.

(iv) *to reinforce self - reliance* through a local government system.

Experience and surveys show the sincere interest of the Kathmandu city population to maintain and upgrade its environment. This is in spite of a local government with limited functioning. However, the mandate is now clear. After local elections (May, 1992) the local representatives have become accountable to the people. And for Kathmandu, the legal framework for its function as a Metropolitan Municipality *(Maha Nagar Palika)* has been approved by the Parliament (Municipal Act. HMG 1992).

A well functioning, representative and cooperative local government would, together with a

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5 Sustainability is not only assessed in economic terms. "A Sustainable city is a city where achievements in social, economic, and physical development are made to last. A Sustainable City has lasting natural resources on which its development depends and a lasting security from environmental hazards which might threaten development achievements."
The UNCHS (Habitat) 1991 further stresses the need for a comprehensive planning approach, which later in this article will be discussed as inappropriate and inachievable in Least Developed Countries: "The planning and management for Sustainable City development requires agreements and coordinated actions of a variety of public, private, and populas sector actors at the individual, community, city, and national levels".
However, the objectives of Sustanaible City development are clear, but do not explicitly include the conservation perspective: "Sustanaible City development supports the achievement of conventional development planning and management objectives such as the following:
- economic efficiency in the use of development resources.
- social equity in the distribution of development benefits and cost (with special emphasis on the needs on low income groups)". UNCHS (Habitat), 1991.

strengthened resource base, guarantee *local sustainability*[5].

The ideas behind the conservation and development concept of the "Living City" are not new, but its contemporary, and growing acceptance and actuality in Asia, is. In Asia, where many historical city centres are under tremendous modernization pressure, mobilization of an awareness of conserving the past identity has become more important both from national and local points of view. This has become more acute as the population and commercialization pressures have increased. A conservation view is also embedded in an integral view of man and his environment, which is a fundamental part of Buddhist and Hinduist philosophy (Goonatilake 1982, 84), rather than a sectorial and efficient class society reflected in the Western City concept (Benevolo 1973). To identify the "roots" of the overall city fabric, and secure and reinforce its persistence in the habitat environments of the contemporary society, is a real challenge. It is now being advocated that surroundings or context of designated monuments should be regarded as integral parts of the historic monuments. This is being advocated by architects and planners in Asia, e.g. in India, Old Delhi (Ribeiro 1990, 91) and China, Beijing (Wu Liangyong 1990). In particular, Professor Wu's work with insight on habitation with courtyard pattern of construction, and low rise high density, close to the "Forbidden City" of Beijing, is of importance in this most populous state of the world. However, the Chinese approach can be discussed from the point of view of reconstruction rather than conservation and preservation. And there is a danger of gentrification as a result of the high cost involved with reconstruction.

The approaches, of the "Living City Concept", are not without inherent contradictions, e.g. between *conservation interests* in maintaining the historical city as it is, and *economic development* and construction activities which need to manifest itself, as well as to cater for the change of functions, e.g. for modern shopping centres, through construction activities.

It is my opinion, that economic viability should *not* be advocated at "any price". The international situation of inner city development abounds in examples of how commercial development can become totally dominant both over conservation and habitation interests.

The economic viability should be measured in a long-term perspective, drawing from the experiences of other nations. These experiences show us that maintaining a living city core is essential. The alternative is that it will become desolate, with all the waste and negative impacts that can follow. One must recognize the strong asset Kathmandu has in this respect: one can still steer the developments so that this will not occur. An increasing number of cities of the West are preoccupied with the dilemma of how to regain the economic small scale business and business potential, once so characteristic for the historical cities, and so important for the service and attractiveness to the inhabitants. Costly repair projects of the city fabric are under way all over Europe and America.

The inner cities of the main market economies of Asia and the West are characterized by densification of resident population and dominant commercialization by the *corporate commercial sector.* It is a process of corporate commercialization where the market forces totally dominate the housing interests of indigenous and marginal groups. The *small firm economy,* on the contrary, is much more adaptable within a conservation and housing environment. This is not always the case. We know that the agglomerated effect in Shahjahanabad, or Old Delhi, has been an expansion of the small firm

economy within the limited area available, at the cost of housing interests. The densities today in some of the traditional *'katras"* (courtyard houses for collective housing) is extremely high (Trivedi).

For these reasons, preserving the historic core and developing a "living city" is clearly the most sound economic long - term measure and should be prioritized equally along new business developments. In addition in a historical city like Kathmandu, the tourist potential and income, will be seriously affected if the charm and historical appearance of the city is lost.

How to make a concept, or one might call it a slogan[6], like the "Living City", operational and implementable in a balanced and self-sustainable way? Well, this is the challenge which faces politicians, administrators and professionals and, not to forget, the inner city population themselves. The professionals, I would say, have a special responsibility in understanding the processes of change and give adequate, realistic advise on how to approach and overcome the situation of a degrading environment and cultural heritage in a place specific context. This I will turn to in the next part.

PART 2. What are the specific problems and the processes of change in the case of Kathmandu today?

The conservation and development problems of the "Living City" of Kathmandu, in face of the present day realities of the historical inner city, are complex and of large magnitude. They can be summarized as:

(i) Deterioration and a process of accelerating change and modernization of inner city areas with monuments and environments which are main parts of the historical physical heritage towards lack of identity of the people and place and loss of common open space and property.

(ii) Inability of large parts of the indigenous population and urban migrants to maintain and develop their basic needs standard in terms of housing, basic services as education and health and infrastructure, e.g. water supply.

(iii) Lack of opportunity to enhance the economic viability of the whole city including disadvantaged areas and in particular create secure work opportunities of groups below poverty line.

(iv) And finally, the problems of self-reliance faced by a new government in front of rising expectations and requirement for accountability to meet city dwellers needs.

In short, this emphasizes that the problems of urban heritage conservation must also be considered as developmental problems. An example of this is the encroachment of public land and monument sites and buildings for private use[7]. This is a threat to the

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6 The Mayor of Kathmandu, Mr P.L.Singh, has as his slogan: "Clean + Green, Healthy Kathmandu City". The cultural heritage conservation perspective is missing. However, "green" might be interpreted in terms of preserving open, public space the private gardens, and arable land within the city.

7 We first encountered this issue through the studies with the Norwegian MSc students of architecture and civil engineering (Throndsen 1989, Haugen et al, 1990; Flyen and Thore, 1990, Aresvik et al. 1991, Fuglestad and Edvardsen 1993). Later this has been a priority area for the TASK project and its mini-demonstration project (Bjønness 1991 c).
The encroachment often blocking the old network of paths and alleys also affect the circulation of pedestrians withing the city core (Eich et al. 1993).

upkeeping of the quality of common property and the cultural heritage of the urban structure. This is a result of the population explosion, segregation of joint families and an uncovered housing demand, but also speculation as a result of escalating land prices and commercialization. Government intervention with land surveys of private land has also had a negative impact. It is essential, in the overcrowded inner city of Kathmandu, to secure and maintain the courtyards, or the traditional *"chowks"*, functioning as outdoor working areas, playgrounds and spaces for religious and family functions. The health situation of urban citizens and the low caste slum dwellers is affected by overcrowded and minimal indoor and outdoor spaces. The decreasing quality and cleanliness of the living environments affects the overall health situation (Harpham et al. 1988). The urban structure, which is an important part of the cultural heritage, is broken up when the traditionally well balanced network of open public spaces, internal passageways and private gradens is destroyed.

There is a change of mentality and values. Bista (1993) argues that Nepal's strengths have always been in the indigenous qualities of various ethnic groups. The Newars, of the Kathmandu Valley, is definitely one of the most significant ethnic groups. But, as Bista proposes, the ethnic groups have been under the influenced of other cultures, including the Western, which have suppressed its own strengths. The lack of maintenance of the cultural heritage is a serious symptom, as it signals a decreased civic pride, less awareness of the importance of traditional values and the architectural and cultural heritage. It also tells about the inability of the traditional religious and community organizations *(guthis)*[8] to maintain and secure the cultural heritage[9]. The urban citizens face a situation with a fast deteriorating identity of place and living cultural heritage. The historical temples and monuments and a medieval city structure exist, but with the fast changing situation, and commercialization pressure, the rich fabric of temples, monuments and public places disappear. The overall build environment loses its homogenous and harmonious appearance.

Kathmandu has nearly doubled in population size from 1981 to 1991. The present day population is 414.000 against 235.160 in 1981 (CBS Census 1981, 1991). The annual growth rate is more than double of the national average. This is within the Kathmandu district boundaries. However, population density of the resident population within the Kathmandu inner city wards is also fast increasing. The population increase for the inner city wards for Kathmandu was on the average 2.4% p.a. for the

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8 "A guthi system is a traditional co-operative organization unique to the Newars. It sets up a network of social relationships of values, norms, etiquettes and social precedence based on age and generation. It is also a work organization concerning the social and religious interests of its members, and physical facilities" (Nepali 1965).

9 The need to strengthen the guthi system was early realized in the Master Plan for the Conservation of the cultural heritage in the Kathmandu Valley (Sekler, 1977). However, this has not materialized . A problem today is that, *guthi sansthan,* a kind of government corporation, is capitalizing through sale of the land owned by the guthis for short term benefit. The arable guthi land, through the sale of the harvest, was supposed to guarantee the implementation of religious and social functions and regular building maintenance. In the case of the *private guthis* there are interests in the same direction. However, ownership disputes often have a "conserving effect". (Falleth 1993).

period 1981 to 1991. With a forecast of an increase per annum of 2.1% during the next 20 years, the population increase for the inner city wards will be approximately 50%. The inner city wards have today (CBS 1991census) a population of 103,700 and will with the above estimated increase have a population of 156.800 in 2011. (The forecast of increase is based on the assumption of some out migration of the natural increase of the population. The forecast growth rate is less than the national average of 2.5% p.a.)[10].

The population increase, is on the contrary to the inner cities, or Central Business Districts (CBD) of industrialized nations, but also of some historical cities of Asia, like Old Delhi, where fast expanding production and market functions push out the resident population (UNCHS (Habitat) 1984).

The average population figures do not tell the whole story. The population pressure at grassroots level of the poor and socially disadvantaged caste communities is already much higher than average and is expected to increase more than the above figures could indicate. The maximum capacity of the core area is by the Asian Development Bank calculated to 850 persons / ha (ADB 1991, 1992). E.g., in Kankeswori, a sweeper and butcher caste settlement close to Vishnumati river, with extremely polluted environment and low standard of housing and basic services, the density was 1066 persons / ha (in 1989) and is expected to increase to 1790 persons / ha in 15 years (Throndsen 1989). In Nepal, on the whole, the urban poor defined to be below the poverty line, constitute 42% of the urban population (Urban Basic Services (UBS) Programme, UNICEF (no date).

The urban poor are marginalized and low caste settlements of the historical city fringe persist. In terms of housing, increasing commercialization appears to be in most cases the predominant threat to the inner city poor, resulting in their expulsion into peri-urban squatter settlements. E.g. ground floor space traditionally occupied by low income groups and migrants have been converted to shops (Backe - Hansen et al. 1985). In the larger squatter settlements close to the urban core more than half of the population are from the city core itself (Kvamstad et al. 1985).

The building technique has changed dramatically. This does not necessarily threaten the conservation of a historical built environment. A challenge is to modernize in harmony with the scale, architectural expressions and materials of the vernacular architecture and built environment (Ozkan 1992). However, in the case of Kathmandu in particular, concrete frame structures on top of a mud mortar structure makes the building extremely vulnerable to earthquake. This is a threat not only to the people living in the building itself, but to the surroundings.

There are technical and philosophical problems associated with ongoing preservation and conservation works. The ICOMOS International Wood Committee remarked in its recommendations from the meeting in Kathmandu, November, 1992: "The ICOMOS Wood Committee were primarily

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10 Population data for the inner city of Kathmandu is not readily available, and has to be derived from many sources:

(i) The 1981 estimated population by ward is derivied from analysis of electorial role (PADCO/ USAD Kathmandu Valley Urban Land Policy Study, 1981).

(ii) 1991 population. Source: 1991 National Population Census.

(iii) The forecast increase until 2011. Souce: German Water Engineers/ World Bank, Urban Water Supply and Sanitation Rehabilitation project, Kathmandu, 1991.

concerned with the degree of rebuilding found, the introduction of contemporary reinforcement materials, the degree to which intervention decisions reflected broad philosophical consensus and site values and the introduction of inappropriate modern design idioms in traditional milieu" (ICOMOS 1992). The report concludes with reference to Herv Stovel's (1992) remarks: "Our review of several conservation projects in progress highlighted a number of significant conservation issues. Failure to address these issues in a serious and comprehensive fashion could in the long term ultimately imperial the values of the Would Heritage Sites". This is of importance, the urban fabric is not only threatened, but also the monuments and World Heritage Sites through intervention and projects, with the best intentions, but not taking the complex question of authenticity seriously (Larsen 1992).

The critical issues of planning for the city core relate to competing sets of interests and are, therefore, political ones. Planning strategies are fundamentally the result of the leverage of pressure groups, in the inner city more than elsewhere, because the interests are great and the stakes are high. It is no surprise, therefore, that the poor are the ones who mostly stand to lose from any change occurring in the inner city which result in an increasing squeeze on the residential and outdoor space accessible to them. The public cultural heritage is also under pressure of groups and individuals for privatizing their interests. In the face of this to create public awareness and strengthened community based organizations (CBOs) and non governmental organization (NGOs) is an essential challenge. With the multi-party democracy introduced spring 1990, it has become legal to form independent interest organizations. Without acceptance and community solidarity and respect for communal property and the cultural heritage, to only enforce the implementation of building and planning by-laws will not solve the problem[11]. Planning for conservation has been aiming at comprehensive change, sectorial and not matched with available resources.

Notwithstanding the certainty of future problems, the Nepalese Government is not in a position to implement large-scale urban improvement and conservation works. Dr. S Amatya, Director General of Department of Archaeology, has written that the major problems faced by the heritage sector at first glance are related to resource constrains, both in financial terms and with regard to sufficiently qualified and experienced manpower. And he stresses: "The real magnitude of the problem lies with the severe weakness in administrative / legal coordination and participation aspects" (Amatya, 1986). Based on this important recognition, it is rather a question of *structural changes,* internally, and a more extrovert, enabling role, locally. This is required in addition to resource mobilization and manpower development.

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11 The normative aspects of development / conservation problems and control will not be discussed here. The total neglect of maximum height regulations on new constructions and additions is one example of an urban renewal process out of control also within the Kathmandu Durbar Square Monument Zone which is declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site. There are also by-laws which have a direct negative, not intended, impact. E.g. the rule permitting 100% ground coverage in Kathmandu facilitates the construction of what should remain as open land for light, air and ventilatiion, and outdoor use. Young dedicated professionals in Nepal are now taking interest in these normative aspects of conservation and development in the city cores of Kathmandu and Patan (Personal communication Mr. S. Sangachhe; Shrestha, I.B. 1989).

There is a need for responsive action grounded in working out clear divisions of responsibilities structured on the actual, and possible future, situation. An example could be the decentralization process under way, to the town municipalities, should not decrease the central government commitment to make policies which can secure action directed toward the weakest and support action which can address and improve the situation in a prompt and coordinated way.

In the process of empowering the local government, the Metropolitan Municipality *(Maha Nagar Palika)* of Kathmandu, meets the shortage of trained manpower with appropriate knowledge of addressing development and conservation needs. The Metropolitan Municipality of Kathmandu will in the future have increased responsibility for developing, maintaining and conserving its own historical environment, and to improve the living conditions of its people.

Several international agencies and NGOs are addressing urban developmental and conservation needs within urban planning, basic services and infrastructure provision of Kathmandu, e.g. World Bank, UNDP, Asian Development Bank (ADB), UNICEF, Norwegian Save the Children, NORAD/ NTH and GTZ (German bilateral technical assistance) and KVPT (Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust). In particular, the Patan Conservation and Development Programme (with German bilateral assistance) is doing appreciable efforts to address development and conservation issues. This project builds on a vast experience with the Bhaktapur Development Project (BDP) (Parajuli 1986). However, the coordination of these projects and activities and linking of these efforts with cultural heritage conservation is the responsibility of several ministries and departments and is generally missing. Better coordination at a municipal level would also be a challenge. The self-interest of institutions and organizations attached to the individual projects seem to prohibit both coordination and delegation of project decision making authority to the municipality.

In terms of training, the issues of urban conservation and development is through higher education, at the Tribhuvan University and Institute of Engineering, not addressed through their formal courses and continuing education courses are non existing. Based on the need for applied knowledge within the field the Department of Housing, the Institute of Engineering and the Norwegian Institute of Technology/NORAD initiated a course entitled TASK (Training in Area upgrading and Slum rehabilitation) project. This project addressed the problems in the field through area and cluster planning exercises, mini demonstration projects and gave fact information, also through exposure to similar problems in Delhi, to interdisciplinary groups of trainees (TASK 1990, Bjønness 1991 c). This is also within a "holistic" for architectural conservation education recommended in India, also addressing developmental issues (Thakur 1990, Kambo 1991).

As a concluding statement, the historical inner city is in a process of accelerating change, both from the point of view of modernization and decay, developing to meet the needs of a fast increasing population. The response in terms of central and local government, project action and training is far from sufficient. In fact, Kathmandu is facing a "time bomb" of population explosion and worsening conditions.

There are two distinct development trends in areas of the inner city with different characteristics. One part of the city is developing fast and has an economic potential. The conflict here is often between modernization of housing and undesirable new construction for commercial use, traffic and conservation of the environment of monuments and

conservation worthy secular buildings.

The other part is becoming marginalized and increasingly segregated with fast worsening conditions. A diversified intervention based on a different economic potential and willingness to participate, and project response, is a matter of urgency. The main challenges are to improve the living and housing conditions of economically weaker sections, and to avoid that a rich cultural and architectural heritage quietly disappears.

There is in short a process of change from:

(i) a situation where the surroundings of designated monuments could be regarded as an integral part together with the historic buildings to an increasing disintegration between the modernized city and the historical monuments and sites.

(ii) a diverse urban fabric with well balanced open spaces and gardens, public and private, for communal, recreative, productive and domestic use to privatization of ownership and a decreasing overall public area.

(iii) a healthy living environment to, in particular, a worsening situation with inadequate housing standard with high density for low, "unclean" and "untouchable" caste communities. There is also a process from owner occupancy to rent.

(iv) a traditional joint family structure with a well dimensioned housing stock, to fragmentation of the joint families and vertical segregation of buildings into non functional housing units also exposing the inner city to earthquake damage.

(v) a system of community based services towards worsening conditions of the provision of basic services in terms of water supply and sewerage, public educational and health services.

In responding to these processes of change and problems to be addressed, there are:

- A lack of strategy in addressing both conservation and developmental concerns of the governmental and other agencies involved.
- A lack of response to a situation of emergency and problems of cultural heritage, physical, social and economic deterioration.
- A lack of training addressing the needs of capacity building of municipal, CBO and NGO manpower.
- A lack of skilled master craftsmen to maintain the physical cultural heritage.
- There are problems of mobilization of resource, managerial skills and implementation capacity of Department of Archaeology.
- There are problems of lack of authority in policy making, interdepartmental and government coordination and decentralization.
- There is a lack of response to a new political and institutional reality, with a local government, for planning, government intervention and implementation.
- The International Safeguarding campaign for the Kathmandu Valley has failed to show accomplished results and to document an active leading role by the Department of Archaeology in conserving, maintaining and developing the World Heritage Sites. (Bjønness 1992 b. page 13-14).
- And there is a lack of monetary resources However, this is also a question of priority and management of existing resources.

In the next part, the strategy response to this reality, will be outlined.

PART 3. What are the shifts in project strategy this project addresses and the main project content?

Initially I will outline the main characteristics of the project in terms of shifts recommended in project strategy. Secondly, the project strategy *response* of the UNESCO / UNDP "Kathmandu Urban Heritage Conservation and Development

Project" will be outlined[12].

(i) *In general, it is recommended a shift from a uniform, general policy to a diversified and target group directed strategy for urban conservation, development and environmental upgrading depending on the local potential and benefitting the socially disadvantaged and the poor.*

Secondly, it is proposed a general shift from sectorial concentration to a planning and implementation in the context of development and environment.

Third, there is a general shift from a restrictive, problem focussed strategy to a mobilizing, constructive strategy based on the living city concept.

(ii) *In terms of planning, the project represents a shift from long term, master planning of urban conservation and development works to operation of an integrated action planning (IAP) process leading to concrete implementation and an emergency responses with immediate repairs.*

Secondly, also in terms of planning, the project aims at a shift from centralized planning and implementation to decentralization and emphasis on locally sustainable and repeatable local development and conservation efforts.

(iii) *For implementation it is a shift from a contractor approach to craftsmen cooperatives.*

(iv) *For institutional development, it is recommended a shift from dependency on central government agencies to the Metropolitan Kathmandu Municipality to take the lead role.*

Secondly, the project emphasises a shift from a singular approach working with formal organizations to a multiple approach mobilizing the wards, the neighborhoods and the local, and representative, CBO's and NGO's.

(v) *As to the role of the state, there is a shift from normative state intervention to awareness raising.*

(vi) *and finally, for training, the project approach represents a shift from specialized courses to "learning - by - doing, on site";*

and a shift from formalized crafts training "back to" on - site, skill training and craftsman apprenticeship arrangements.

This is a long list. The challenge is *to make operational* the recommended shifts in project strategies in terms of addressing conservation in the context of development and environment. In general terms, a strategy is defined through its objectives and, not to forget, means to reach these objectives. The more delimited project strategy is based on the recognition that there are five different but inter-related tasks that have to be accomplished in order to

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12 The project document is written based on what is called the *programming approach* of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (UNDP 1992). The UNDP definition of the programming approach is "the pursuit of national development goals through articulated national programmes". The point of departure in the project document is therefore the "host country" strategies within the cultural, urban and local government sectors. These sector strategies, as outlined by the Nepalese government (National Planning Commission 1992) for the cultural (MOECSW 1992), urban and local government sectors, will not be outlined here. Rather, I am giving emphasis to the more limited strategy for project planning and implementation, institutional development, traning and skill development.
The drafting of the project document was also based on a workshop with all involved parties entitled: *"Integration of Cultural Heritage Conservation and Urban Development in Kathmandu"* (Bjønness 1992 a).
Furthermore, the document itself is worked out after the *objective oriented project planning* method (Logic Framework Approach) (UNDP 1990, NORAD 1992).

meet the objective(s) or the project. This strategy puts human resources development at the centre.

The means of the project strategy *response* of the UNESCO / UNDP "Kathmandu Urban Heritage Conservation and Development Project" can be outlined as follows:

(i) *Human resource development* of manpower from the Metropolitan Municipality, the department of Archaeology, concerned line agencies and representatives from local Community Based Organizations (CBO's) and NGO's. The experience is that there is not a shortage of manpower with the formal qualifications within urban development and conservation. However, there is a lack of applied knowledge through concrete working experience within urban inner city situation of Kathmandu.

(ii) *Working out an Integrated Action Plan* for the conservation and development of selected cultural heritage areas of Kathmandu Conservation and development Zone, and for Kathmandu Durbar Square Monument Zone (The World Heritage Site), as a tool in coordinating and mobilizing conservation and developmental efforts. This also includes *cultural planning efforts for tourism and the indigenous communities.*

(iii) *Mobilizing and organizing skill training of traditional master craftsmen* assisting the Metropolitan Municipality (Maha Nagar Palika), the Department of Archaeology and the project, in an *emergency response to repair and conservation requirements* and in long term regularized maintenance of the physical cultural heritage,

(iv) *Accomplishing conservation and restoration works at* the World Cultural Heritage site of Kathmandu Durbar Square and assisting the Department of Archaeology in their work with regularized maintenance. Assist in redefining and relaunching the international Campaign for the Safeguarding of the Kathmandu Valley.

(v) *Establishing and running of the project through the guidance* of the project board, in relation to the Kathmandu Conservation and Development Zone (KCDZ), and delimiting the project area within KCDZ and an extended, declared Kathmandu Durbar Square Monument Zone (KDSMZ). The execution of the Project will depend heavily on local contracts. The establishing of the office and an information centre in the Hanuman Dhoka complex, located in the project area, will be of importance for the later follow up by local and central government.

The above tasks of the project are interlinked and mutually support each other. The assistance within conservation and development efforts within the inner city of Kathmandu is wide in scope, but limited in time (4 years) and will be directed towards priority areas and bottlenecks. It is expected that within that time the municipality and the community based organizations will jointly be able to organize self sustainable conservation and development activities. The intention of this assistance, according to the "Living City Concept", is to contribute to the upgrading of the habitable environment of the Historical Inner City. The historical inner city conservation and development efforts will be connected to the Kathmandu Durbar Square Conservation Programme under the Safeguarding campaign.

The project is geographically limited to the Historical Inner City of Kathmandu. The Metropolitan Municipality of Kathmandu, in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology and Department of housing and Urban Development, is recommended to take steps to establish a Kathmandu Conservation and Development Zone (KCDZ) outside the present World Heritage Area of Kathmandu Durbar Square. KCDZ will include the ancient bazaar, some of the most characteristic adjacent urban quarters with courtyard-structure. It is also recommended that there

is delimited an area which will represent a section of the city from the palace to the low caste settlement of Kankeswori next to the river. This would in addition to the conservation perspective also give several developmental challenges in linking this project up with agencies already involved in KCDZ and the World Heritage Zone. E.g. in collaboration with UNICEF, and its Urban Basic Services (UBS) programme (UNICEF, no date), effort should be made to address the development and conservation of the low caste settlement of Kankeswori and the significant Kankeswori temple. One other challenge would be implementation of a traffic management plan for non-vehicular traffic and pedestrianisation of the inner core.

The project presentation has to be limited, here in this article, and a detailed understanding can only be achieved going through the detailed outputs and related activities and budget of the project, as specified in the project document (Bjønness 1992 b). However, here I will the project presentation to outline *the implementation arrangements.*

The project will start with the *establishment of project management and delimiting the KCDC and KDSMZ,* point 5 above: Establishing and running of the project. The experience is that project management should be given special attention, and even be regarded as a project component. Much depends on smooth and efficient guidance, management and staff cooperation. There is also a challenge of local as well as central government involvement through establishment of a board for Kathmandu Conservation and Development Zone.

The second task, point 1 above: Human resource development, is *"a learning -by-doing" exercise addressing the realities* of the historical inner city. The trainees will through project work identify, plan and implement mini demonstration projects and mobilize the people of the area to take responsibility for the upgrading of their own environment. In this way the trainees and trainers jointly will work on strategy development and make a draft integrated action plan. The material collected by the trainees will also be an important resource base at the actual, neighborhood, or implementation level.

Training has a central role in project development and implementation. If fact, through the training exercise, the trainees will take the responsibility to map the areas involved and draft plans, make projects and test implementation[13].

13 The activities of output (1.2): "Interdisciplinary training in historical inner - city conservation and development with multi - agency and community representation" are in the project document outlined as follows (Bjønness 1992 b).

(i) Implement a training needs assessment
(ii) Preparation of interdisciplinary course programme through training of trainers workshops.
(iii) Mobilization of participating institutions etc.
(iv) Course programme implementation (Part I). Theory component and site study programme.
(v) Course programme implementation (Part II) Project work. Preparation of area development plan preparation of cluster development plan with the community.
(vi) Course programme implementation (Part III) Implementation of mini demonstration projects as a part of the training.
(vii) Course programme implementation (Part IV) Preparation of a draft integrated action plan for Kathmandu Conservation and Development Zone (KCDZ).
(viii) Compilation of training curriculum, and results. Evaluation of training and project work.
(ix) Presentation and publication of training material.

The third task, point 2 above: Working out an Integrated Action Plan, is Integrated Action Planning. The intention is to see how the challenges of conservation and development can be met and coordinated in a mutually supportive manner. This plan will have a strong element of learning from the implementation of conservation and development tasks in proposing areas of future action where the community in question will have a strong say. However, initially the project, and later the Department of Archaeology and its Kathmandu Durbar or municipal office, will have an advisory role on the conservation part. A main challenge is, however, to mobilize a "young" Metropolitan Municipality *(Maha Nager Palika)* of Kathmandu to involve itself in integrated measures in a self sustainable way.

The fourth task, point 3 above: Mobilizing and organizing skill training of traditional master craftsmen, addresses the mobilization of master craftsmen, on site surveys and in supporting their organization to be able to make an emergency response to a fast deteriorating physical cultural heritage. A core group of Newari master craftsmen from the earlier HMG/UNESCO/UNDP project for the restoration of the Kathmandu Durbar are still active and in need of work. They should be mobilized to also assist in appointing other master craftsmen in traditional crafts. With their assistance, survey and repair work should start on declared monuments within Kathmandu in need of emergency repairs. A second group will work with conservation works related to KDSMZ (the World Heritage Site). Through these activities, there should be possibilities of immediately starting apprenticeship training of young craftsmen, as a part of the ongoing activities.

And the fifth task, point 4 above: Accomplishing conservation, restoration and development works, addresses the Department of Archaeology (DOA) and its responsibilities to conserve the international and national heritage and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (DHUD). DHUD will take care of coordination with the developmental perspectives and the enforcement of building codes. DOA will be enable in its tasks with concentration on Kathmandu Durbar Square Monument Zone, and will apply an offensive strategy for resource mobilization working out concrete proposals for conservation.

In presenting the project proposal, there have been questions regarding the contents of integrated action planning (IAP). I will therefore more in detail reply to what *a planning methodology of conservation, in the context of urban development and environment* could be. Questions are: Has urban planning functioned in the so called developing countries? And if planning has not functioned, which is generally the fact, is it at all likely that the ambitious aim is met integrating both conservation and developmental goals in planning and implementation efforts? And if at all talking about planning, what kind of planning is likely to function? These are large and complex questions to reply throughout. Here, I will concentrate on a reply through a presentation of the intentions and contents of *integrated action planning.*

The development of this planning *methodology* is at its beginning (UNDP/UNCHS 1989). However, it has its roots in environments dealing with "tropical planning" (Koenigsberger 1964).

The *practice* of integrated action planning (IAP) is not new, because it is a planning which generally is responsive to a *limited resource base,* and aims at directly achieving social and economic, as well as physical, development.

- It is also a planning giving emphasis to *the process* which addresses the most urgent issues in the city's growth. It is therefore an urban developmental planning with demands on

peoples participation. The formulation of means and ends and the mobilization of resources shall be an open process which allows for the beneficiaries involvement.

Interaction between the planning team and decision makers at different levels becomes essential. IAP calls for an iterative formulation of analysis and advice with which to feed a continuous *process of political decision making*. This kind of planning does not neglect the normative and institutional aspects of planning.

There is a concern to advice how *government regulations* can be effectively implemented, and how the allocation of public resources will affect the problems tackled by the government and will affect the conditions the government wishes to maintain.

IAP recognizes that the current apparatus of the government has its limitations. It would attempt to change the institutional capacity of government to act. When politics are expressed as strategies and then broken into discrete tasks, the performance of these tasks cannot be expected unless each can be matched to an entity capable of taking the necessary actions. This is what is called "role casting". In theory, an institution's capability is a combination of particular skills, finances, legal powers, and relationships with other actors. If role casting is done at all; it is rarely possible to mate necessary tasks with capable, committed institutions. Finally it comes to *the way* goods and services are delivered, also by government institutions, which can be as important as their actual delivery. To this end, institutions can be given greater capacities to act as participants in a team, rather than as individualized. They can be inspired with purposes which are beyond their normal operational and maintenance objectives. This may reduce their natural inclinations to resist change and protect their self-interest to an extreme. These are important factors in Nepal, where the bureaucracy use their vested interests. It is also a culture where fatalism is closely linked to development, religion and personal interrelations (Bista 1991).

To facilitate these changes in strategies, in *a traditional society* normally resistant to innovation and change, the introduction and transition planning practice through *a training exercise* has proved successful (Mattingly 1988). In Nepal the experiences with the TASK project, earlier given reference to are relevant and recently assessed (Standley 1993).

However, the major step towards a more responsive and result oriented planning came with the introduction of multi party democracy (in April 1990) and the subsequent local elections paving the way for a functioning local government structure (May 1992).

This outline of the strategy proposed has emphasized the changes proposed and their strategy results. In addition to this the project contain, a more traditional part, with the objective to upgrade the Department of Archaeology institutionally mainly through work with conservation and development of Kathmandu Durbar Square monument zone (KDSMZ), which is on the UNESCO World Heritage List of Cultural and Historic Sites. The second objective is to relaunch the International Campaign for the safeguarding of the Kathmandu Valley.

The support of the project to the International Camping for Safeguarding of the Kathmandu Valley is limited in scope to one priority site, where the project can only contribute with repairs to be

implemented during the project period. The prescriptive approach, and stepwise process, as foreseen by the International Campaigns for the Safeguarding of Mankind's Cultural Heritage (Noguchi 1988), has not given the expected results in Nepal. Being sites of international and national importance, it is still expected that the department of Archaeology will take the long term responsibility for the regular and systematic maintenance of the World Heritage Site of Kathmandu Durbar Square Monument Zone (KDSMZ) possibly with the mobilization of other donors. Also, here is a difficult task ahead. Changes in the built environment and the urban structure in the areas within the World Heritage Site is also, at present, out of control.

PART 4. CONCLUSION

In Nepal, and in Asia today, what are the project challenges for the actual implementation of a project integrating the needs of conservation and development? What could be the influence of an increased international importance to culture in the context of development?

What are the project challenges and implications of aiming at integration of conservation and developmental measures within urban cultural heritage? First of all, as I see it, this implies integration of the indigenous population in the area of cultural heritage conservation into the conservation *and* development process of the area. This further results in an emphasis on mobilizing "peoples civic pride" and responsibilities for the cultural heritage and their own city environment. Peoples own organizations, traditional and modern, become essential in this process. Much depends on change of attitudes of resourceful people and groups obtaining the view that conserving and developing the build environment is productive for the economic development as well as for the improvement of quality of the overall living environment.

It also addressees the methodology of intervention being mainly directed towards immediate needs and within available resources. Integrated Action Planning (IAP) is introduced as a planning tool based on these principles. The comprehensive, master planning, being mere "wishful thinking", have led to disillusionment rather than being a guiding tool and serving resource mobilization within an overall framework as defined *from above* by the national government.

The project outlined here has ambitious goals and means. The main tool to develop appropriate knowledge and what is called integrated action plans is *a comprehensive training exercise.* Secondly, confidence building of all parties involved shall develop through concrete implementation of conservation and development activities "in the field". If this is done through the peoples own organizations, it will be the best mean to develop confidence and self-sustainable development processes. This is not easy. In the long term, to develop "civic sense" among the public is a demanding maturing process. However, in today's context of democratic development in Nepal this is essential for a "generative" urban development. Neglect of the cultural heritage and selfishness are destructive and will lead to, what can be called, "parasitic" urban development. This will in turn lead to an overall negative impact and decreased quality of urban life and the "living city" will deteriorate. There are strong forces in Nepal realizating this. Hopefully, they can join efforts and reverse the negative development trend and the cultural heritage literally "falling apart".

Finance of cultural heritage projects is the main bottleneck for project implementation. From the side of national authorities, and the National Planning Commission, cultural development needs are not regarded as "developmental" and are "losing" in front of, e.g. hydro power development. In the case

of Nepal, within the 8th Five Year Development Plan, there is a strong rural basis. This is another reason for direction of limited United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) resources to rural areas and hesitancy to involve is urban development and conservation. However, working towards the role of cities as "generative", being centres of creativity, culture and economic activity and growth catering for the city and its "upland" the dealing with the urban heritage and the development of the city centres must not be left with lowest priority in government budgets. In Nepal, with a new and accountable, local government structure, there is hope for pressure "from below"

The hope is also that UNDP and other leading multilateral and bilateral development finance and technical assistance institutions, shall regard urban cultural heritage conservation *not* as a sector independent of urban developmental efforts. An integrated approach, to conservation and development, will respect the historical integrity of people also of a Least Developed Country LDC) like Nepal. To sustain the cultural, historical heritage within developmental efforts is essential working towards a World with less inequality, and with mutual respect.

The constitution of the World Committee on Culture and Development is a welcome sign from UNESCO and the international community in this direction. The issues of environment and development have been debated in the report of the UN World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland report, World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) UNESCO is currently setting up a World Commission on Culture and Development (UNESCO 1992 a). The discussions have initially been related to:

The cultural dimension in development. Development is per definition wanted development. If something goes wrong, "culture" is often to be blamed.

The culture sector: Has culture to be treated as a seperate sector in order to be complete with other sectorial needs?

The growth potential inherent in the cultural dimension.

The giving of importance to the cultural dimension. What can the cultural dimension mean for sincerity and "solidity" in handling of the ecological crisis?

(Discussion with Ms Ingrid Eide, Paris 30th of October, 1992).

The World Commission for Culture and Development should also address the importance of *the physical cultural heritage.* There are already efforts to coordinate the efforts to address cultural heritage and environment through the "World Cultural and Natural Heritage Conventions" through UNESCO. This also relate to ICOMOS. UNESCO has commented that: "It is up to ICOMOS to decide whether either of the two charters needs to be revised, for example to take account, in the case of the Venice Charter (Venice Charter 1990), of new problems arising from the use of new materials and of divergent approaches to the restoration of ancient monuments" (UNESCO 1992 b).

What I would like to emphasize is that the cultural dimension in the work of the World Commission calls for due *regional representation* to take up the regional and in some cases significant local variations, traditions and practice. This is, in relation to the Venice charter, a special challenge for our group of professionals also within urban heritage conservation and development.

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Rath Jatra of Rato Machchhendranath

- Siddhi B. Ranjitkar

The Lichhvi Kings and later the Malla Kings intertwined social and religious celebrations with myths to provide explanations of the remedies for natural phenomena and disasters. The Nepali people continue to observe these celebrations in the form of festivals without questioning but rather adding new activities over time. About two month long Rath Jatra (chariot-pulling) festival of the Rato (red) Machchhendranath in Patan is one such festival that had been developed in the course of time. One of the later additions to this festival was the public display of "Bhoto"- a vest embroidered with jewels in Jawalakhel on the last day of the festival. This is popularly known as "Bhoto Jatra".

MACHCHHENDRANATH - KARUNAMAYA

The name Machchhendranath is a synthesis of three Sanskrit words: "Machchhe", "Indra" and "Nath". "Machchhe" means a far-away country or fish; "Indra" means rain god or The King of Heaven; and "Nath" means a master of all. When these three words are combined together, we have the name "Machchhendranath" meaning the god brought from a distant country, a rain god or a master of all living beings, whichever way you may like to interpret the word.

Machchhendranah is a symbol of religious harmony. Shaivas worship Him as Shiva, Vaisnavis as Vishnu, and Buddhists as Avalokitesvara the Dhyani Buddha. There are four Machhendranathas in the Kathmandu Valley. Two are red, and two are white. The famous red Machchhendranath resides in Bungamati in the first half of a year, and in Patan in the second half of the year. The second red Machchhendranath resides in a stunning temple located on the top of the Chovar hill in Kirtipur. The white Machchhendranath popularly known as Jan-Ma-Deo is at Jan-Baha, in the heart of Kathmandu, while the other is at Nala, about 15 km. east of Kathmandu. Both the red Machchhendranaths are worshipped for good agricultural harvests while the white Machchhendranaths are worshipped for good health. All of them are called "Karunamaya"-- the compassionate god.

The legend of Machchhendranath concerns a legendary drought which lasted for twelve years in the Kathmandu Valley and tells the story of how the

kings of the city-states of Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu cooperated to bring the deity Machchhendranath from a far away country to solve the problem of the prolonged and persistent drought. The rulers of the three city-states assigned Tantric priest Shantikar Bajracharya, to ascertain the reasons for drought. The Tantric priest found that deity Gorkhanath was meditating while sitting on a cushion of nine snake gods causing drought. The only possible remedy to the drought was to set the serpents free, which was possible by bringing Machchhendranath, the Guru of Gorkhanath.

As suggested by the Tantrist, King Narendradev of Bhaktapur took the Tantric priest Bandhudatta Bajracharya from Kathmandu, and skilful porter Rathan Chakra from Patan, and went off to find and bring Machchhendranath to Nepal. The Tantrist communicated directly with the gods, and found that Machchhendranath's mother was unwilling to send her son off. Therefore, the Tantrist converted the young Machchhendranath into a bee, and hid it in a "Kalash"-- a ceremonial holy water vessel. Porter Rathan Chakra carried it clandestinely to Nepal under the protection of the King's royal guard. After the ardous journey, the trio stopped first at Bungamati, Lalitpur. Gorkhanath, knowing about the arrival of his Guru, hurried to Bungamati, releasing serpents from his cushion, automatically causing rains. Thus, the team of a king, a Tantrist and a porter established Rato Machchhendranath in Bungamati. Later, kings of other city-states established their own red or white machchhendranaths, and run festivals of these Machchhendranaths.

THE FESTIVAL OF CHARIOT-PULLING

The chriot-pulling festival is observed in Patan every year, but once every twelve years, the festival is celebrated with added enthusiasm. Once every twelve years, the festival starts in Bungamati, then continues in Patan and ends in Bungamati after more than three months of celebration. The last twelve year festival in this cycle was observed in 1991. A. D.

The annual festival begins with the bathing of the idol of the Rato Machchhendranath in Lagankhel, Patan on the first day of the waning moon of Chaitra (March-April). After fifteen days of the bathing ceremony, the chariot-pulling festival starts with the placing of the idol in a special chamber built within the fifty feet high chariot in Pulchok, Patan, and about one month outing of the god through several lanes of Patan. The festival ends at Jawalakhel after the public show of the embroidered vest in Jestha-Ashad (June-July). Thereafter, the god is carried on a portable shrine to Bungamati where the god resides for six months.

Once every twelve years, the chariot-pulling festival begins in Bungamati. For this special occasion, devotees build a new chariot. Carpenters belonging to "Ba dhais" caste start building wooden parts in "Bhaila khe Bihar", Patan on the auspicious day of Sripanchami (February). This is the day when the goddess of Learning (Saraswoti) arrives in Kathmandu from Lhasa, when the spring season starts. They take these wooden and metallic parts from Patan to Bungamati, and assemble them into a fifty feet high chariot in the square next to the temple of the Rato Machchhendranath. They finish it to begin the festival on the first day of the bright moon fortnight in Baisakh (April-May).

The huge spire - the upper part of the chariot built of logs up to four inches in diameter, and decorated with green bough and festoons, standing above the chamber, gives an unique view. A parasol of about five feet in diameter with a pointed metallic head on it, adorns the top of this structure. The chamber stands on a heavy wooden frame on four wheels; and it has a balcony where the attendant priest "Panju" can move around. There is a beam

Rato Machchhendranath, Patan

Rath Jatra of Rato Machchhendranath

which extends several feet in front of the chariot, and bends upward. A brass mask of Bhairab is fixed at the upward-curving end of this beam. Two ropes in each side of the beam are tied to the axle of the chariot to pull it.

Each and every prime part of the chariot is possessed with one deity or another. For example, the wooden wheels have four different mighty Bhairabs. They are Haya-griva, Hari-siddhi, Lubta-sanhara, and Nanda-kunda. Similarly, the long beam represents Karkot Naga - the serpent king. The ropes symbolize such serpent gods like Basuki Naga and Sesh Naga.

Before beginning the chariot-pulling festival, care-taker priests called "Panjus" perform a bathing ceremony to the idol of Machchhendranath. First, Panjus turn over the idol to the Shakya painters called "Nekuju" on the first day of the waning moon in the month of Chaitra (March-April) to repair and paint it. Nekujus, in turn, hand it back to Panjus after thirteen days of work on it. Thereafter, Panjus perform the bathing ceremony to the idol in preparation to the chariot-pulling festival. The painters called "Pun" paint and decorate other parts and the wheels of the chariot.

On the first day of the waxing moon in Baisakh (April-May), the idol is ascended to the chariot at the auspicious hour determined by astrologers. Two Panjus in saffron robes (possibly white but coloured due to vermillion offered to the God) permanently attend the God in the chariot. They must fast, and they take special care not to touch anybody while on duty as touching others renders the pollution of their clean body. They do not eat certain food including garlic, onions, tomatoes for months before they become Panjus.

On the fourth day after the placement of the God in the chamber, people from Patan come with a musical band to begin pulling the chariot in Bungamati. Everyday, at about 4 P.M. they pull the chariot for an hour. They bring it to a certain point and anchor it for an overnight stay. The pullers from Patan have a "Guthi" or a trust fund, financed jointly by the contribution from the government and the people themselves to bear the expenses for the activities of pulling the chariot. Devotees from Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Patan and other parts of the Kathmandu Valley visit the God. For those not familiar with the technique of pulling such a tall chariot up and down the hilly topography of the valley, it is amazing and thrilling.

One of the major events of the chariot-pulling from Bungamati to Patan is the crossing of the "Nakhu Khola" stream. Thousands of people from different parts of the Kathmandu Valley gather there to watch the chariot crossing the stream. Some people bathe in the down stream coinciding with the time the chariot crosses the stream believing that it helps to cure diseases. People claim that they see serpents taking a dip in the stream on this occasion. A legend has it that the serpent God "Karkot Naga" being the beam of the chariot meets with his wife once every twelve years only while the chariot crosses the stream.

Another interesting event occurs when the chariot passes quietly from Ekantakuna to Pulchok. Devotees pull the chariot at night to avoid the attention of evil spirits and ghosts. A legend has it that goblins and ghosts once obstructed the chariot at Ekantakuna. People had hard time dealing with the evil spirits. The four Bhairabs dwelling in the wheels of the chariot took a form of dog, and chased away the goblins and ghosts. Since then, the tradition had set to pull the chariot quietly at that stretch.

The chariot remains at Pulchok for three days. From there on, the chariot-pulling festival follows an annual celebration. On the fourth day, the chariot of God Minanath is pulled to Pulchok to greet Machchhendranath. Minanath is believed to be the son of Machchhendranath. So the chariot of Minanath

is shorter than that of Machchhendranath. Thereafter, both the chariots move on the annual route. They make three major halts—first at Ga-Baha, second at Sundhara-Nhuga, and third at Lagankhel. At every stop, the chariots stay on about 1-2 days to give sufficient time to the locals for revering the Gods, and celebrating the occasion. In Lagankhel, the chariots stands for more than 2 days because such rituals as pulling the chariots round the shrine of the mother of Machchhendranath, sacrificing a male goat to the Bhairabs in the wheels, and finally dropping a coconut from the top of the spire, are performed there. Of them, the coconut dropping ceremony is the most important.

A ceremony of dropping a coconut from the top of the spire is performed on the auspicious day determined by the astrologers. Thousands of people from all over the Kathmandu Valley gather at Lagankhel on this day to watch this ceremony. In the late afternoon an official of the Guthi Sansthan (Govt-Trust) climbs to the top of the spire attracting the attention of all the people gathered there. Then, the man drops several items of offerings such as rice, flowers, red power, sweets and so on keeping the crowd impatient. Finally, he tosses down a coconut amid the applause of the crowd. Young men scramble for the catch of the falling coconut believing that the man who catches it, will be blessed with a son in that year. That ends the festival of the coconut dropping.

Early next morning, women only pull the chariot of Machchhendranath from Lagankhel up to the cross-roads about 150 m. to the north of Lagankhel. Rarely do people notice this festival because women pull it almost in darkness. This festival lasts for a short moment. This celebration is for single women who miss the chance to observe the festival with their family members.

The chariot stands at the cross-roads until astrologers fix a day to pull it from the cross-roads to Jawalakhel—another open square about one km. away from Lagankhel. It may stay at the cross-roads for about one month. Traditionally, a number of astrologers gather at the public place built with sixteen pillars at Managal Bazar to ascertain the most auspicious day for pulling the chariots from the cross-roads to Jawalakhel.

Once the date is fixed, people from the surrounding areas pull the chariot to Jawalakhel. The Living Goddess called Patan Kumari watches the chariot sitting at the public place called "Kumari Pati" on this day.

Usually, on the fourth day after the arrival of the chariot at Jawalakhel, another important event of the festival—a showing of "Bhoto" vest embroidered with jewels takes place in Jestha-Asadh (June-July). The vest belonged to a farmer who received it from the serpent king called Karkot Naga as a reward for healing the eyes of the serpent queen. A ghost had stolen it. On one occasion, the ghost in a human form wearing the vest came to watch the festival of Machchhendranath at Jawalakhel. The farmer noticed the ghost in a human from putting on the vest; and he claimed it. Then there was a row between them, that attracted the attention of the people around. But nobody could judge whom it belonged to, which is why the vest is kept in the custody of the Rato Machchhendranath, and publicly displayed in Jawalakhel every year and once every twelve years in Bungamati.

On the day of "Bhoto Jatra", people from all parts of the Kathmandu Valley visit Machchhendranath at Jawalakhel from early morning. Devotees revere the god with the lighting of 108 wick lamps fed with mustard oil or ghee because Avalokitesvara has 108 different incarnations. They bring "Puja" offerings to the god. Thus, a religious fair takes place on this day. In the late afternoon, an official of the Guthi Sansthan displays "Bhoto" from

the four corners of the balcony of the chariot, so that people at all sides of Jawalakhel can see the vest. This is a great moment for all the people watching the event. Thereafter, a priest climbs to the top of the spire and drops a copper disc to predict the future of that year. If the disc lands face down, the year will be auspicious, and people expect good harvests and prosperity.

After the display of "Bhoto" at Jawalakhel, in a normal year the god is taken on a portable shrine to Bungamati preceded by a musical band, and accompanied by a religious procession and a unit of the royal army, and thus, ends the festival of Rato Machchhendranath. But once every twelve years, the God returns to Bungamati on the chariot following the route the God had travelled to Patan.

The chariot stays on at the big square in Bungamati. On the fourth day (July-August) after the arrival of the chariot, there again, people celebrate "Bhoto Jatra". On this day, a religious fair is held where the chariot stands. Devotees from all over the Kathmandu Valley gather there to revere the god, and to watch the "Bhoto Jatra". After the ceremonial display of the vest, the festival of the Rato Machchhendranath concludes.

Care-taker priests perform a purification rite to Machchhendranath before permitting Him to enter the temple. At the main entrance of the temple, the idol of Machchhendranath is kept waiting for washing away the pollution caused by accepting offerings from the people of different castes, and indulging with the women of questionable purity. After the purification rites, Machchhendranath enters the God-house to reside for six months before He is taken to His winter abode at Ta-Baha, Patan.

जालन्धरी राजा

-डा. राजाराम सुवेदी

नेपाली लोक जीवनमा जालन्धरीको नाम पहिलेदेखि सुनिदै आएको छ। जालन्धरी शब्द चाहे कुनै राजा, महाराजा, पराक्रमी पुरुष, दैत्य, जालैजाल, जालन्धर क्षेत्रको वासिन्दा, ज्वालाजीको शासक, आगो जस्तो रापिलो, जालैजाल बिछाउन सक्ने, जालीभन्दा पनि महाजाली, चाहे जाल तोड्न सक्ने रूपमा भए पनि पहिचान भएको छ। शब्दकोशमा जालन्धरीको अर्थ टुनामुना जान्ने झाँक्री भन्दा ठूलो व्यक्ति विशेषलाई संकेत गरिएको छ । भैरवका उपासकलाई पनि जालन्धरी भनिन्छ। तर जालन्धरी राजा भनी कसलाई भनेको हो, त्यसको निर्क्यौल हुन बाँकी नै छ । त्यही सिलसिलामा प्रकाशित अप्रकाशित एवं स्थानीय लोक इतिहासका आधारमा त्यो कुराको छानविन यस लेखनमा गर्ने चेष्टा राखिएको छ।

भारतको पञ्जाब प्रान्त अन्तर्गत एक प्रसिद्ध नगरको नाम जालन्धर राखिएको छ। सतलज र व्यास नदीको अन्तरालमा होसियारपुरदेखि दक्षिण पूर्वतर्फ जालन्धर पर्दछ । वि.सं. १८४७ देखि १८७२ सम्म नेपालको विस्तार व्यास नदीसम्म ठोकिंदा दक्षिणी सिमाना जालन्धर परेको थियो । वर्तमान नेपालका धेरैजसो ब्राह्मण र क्षेत्रीयको आदिस्थल जालन्धर रहेको कुरा विभिन्न वंशावलीबाट थाहा पाइन्छ। उदाहरणको लागि जालन्धर र शंखद्वारबाटै कुशाभट्ट नामक विद्वान्ले मुसलमानी आक्रमणबाट धर्मरक्षार्थ हिमालयतिर पसेको कुरा भारद्वाज गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण, क्षेत्रीय, वैश्य र शुद्रको वंशावलीबाट खुल्दछ । एकपटक जालन्धर प्रदेशको शक्ति विस्तार भएकोले पञ्जाव, काँगडा, गढवाल र कुमाउँ प्रदेशलाई एकै शब्दमा जालन्धरे भनिन्थ्यो । उदाहरणको लागि कोशाम्व प्रदेशका निवासीलाई कौशाम्वी, पञ्जाव निवासीलाई पञ्जावी, नेपालकालाई नेपाली, जुम्लावासीलाई जुम्ली, कुमाउँवासीलाई कुमाउनी, र जालन्धर निवासीलाई जालन्धरी भनिनु असान्दर्भिक कुरा भएन। प्राचीनकालमा बडा शक्तिशाली भएका किरातहरूको टक्कर आर्यजातिसंग पर्नगयो । लामो संघर्षपश्चात् किरातहरू यत्रतत्र छरिएर विभिन्न समूहमा विभाजित भए । ई.पूर्व बाह्रौं शताब्दीमा किरातको एक जत्था जालन्धर क्षेत्रमा बसोवास गरेको हुँदा किरातलाई पनि जालन्धार वा जालन्धरी भन्न थालियो। त्यो जालन्धरी किरातजाति जालन्धर क्षेत्रबाट बाहिर जाँदा पनि उनीहरू जहाँ बसे त्यो ठाउँ नै

जालन्धर रहन गयो। त्यही जालन्धर नामका आधारमा जालन्धरी जाति भएको र जालन्धरी जातिको राजालाई जालन्धरी राजा भनिएको कुरातर्फ विद्वान्हरूले निर्देशन गर्दछन् ।[१] सतलज उपत्यकाको पूर्वतर्फ पर्ने कर्णाली प्रदेशलाई समेत उपर्युक्त आधारबाट जालन्धर प्रदेश भनिन्थ्यो। आजकाल पनि कर्णाली प्रदेशलाई जालन्धर प्रदेश भनिदै आएको छ। पहिले जुम्ला राज्यलाई पनि जालन्धर राज्य भनिन्थ्यो । त्यसैले हिमवत्खण्डको पश्चिमी खण्डलाई जालन्धर भनिने कुरा बुझिन्छ । जालन्धर प्रदेश अन्तर्गत नेपाल, कुमाउँ, गढवाल, सिमला र काश्मिर गरी जम्मा पाँचवटा खण्डलाई हिमवत्खण्ड भनिन्छ र त्यही नै जालन्धर देश रहेको बुझिन्छ ।[२]

स्कन्दपुराणको केदारखण्ड कार्तिक महात्म्य अन्तर्गत स्वस्थानीदेवीको ब्रतानुष्ठानमा मर्त्यलोकका जालन्धरी राजाले कैलाशवासी भगवान् शंकरको अर्द्धाङ्गिणी पार्वतीको शतित्व डगाउने प्रयास गरेको प्रसङ्ग उल्लेख छ । त्यो थाहा पाएका काशीक्षेत्रका भगवान् विष्णुले देवतासंग युद्धरत जालन्धरीकी पत्नी वृन्दाको शतित्व डगाएको कथा प्रचलित छ । जालन्धर राजा पत्नीको पतिब्रता भङ्ग भएपछि युद्धक्षेत्रमा मारिएको हुनाले पतियोगिनी वृन्दाले बिष्णुलाई विभिन्न श्राप गरिन्। बद्री केदार खण्डका जालन्धर राजा कहीं उही किरातवंशी जालन्धर भनिने गरेको रहेछ कि भन्ने अड्कल गरिएको छ। किरात साम्राज्य र मगरराज्यको शक्ति प्राचीनकालमा कर्णाली प्रदेशमा पनि रहेछ कि भनी खोजी गर्नुपर्ने विषय भएको छ । मगर राज्य सिमाना काश्मिरसंग ठोक्किएको कुरा काश्मिरको इतिहासले केही संकेत गर्दछ। यसरी हेर्दा जालन्धरी राजा दैत्यवंशीय शासक भनी हिन्दू पुराणले उल्लेख गर्दछ ।

कर्णाली प्रदेशको इतिहास अन्वेषण गर्ने क्रममा तिथि मिति उल्लेख नपरेका जालन्धरी राजाको वर्णन त्यताको लोक इतिहासमा अत्यन्तै प्रचलित रहेको छ । भनिन्छ, जालन्धरी राजाको पालामा नै विजय मन्दिर नामक राजदरबारको निर्माण भएको थियो । त्यही प्राङ्गणभित्र भगवती कनका सुन्दरीको चार ढोका, चार चोक, चार तले, चार बूर्जा, चार गजूर भएको विशाल मन्दिर थियो । सिंजाका मानिसहरूमा कुनै पुरानो वस्तु भन्नु परेमा "जालन्धरीका पालाँ" भन्ने चलन यद्यपि छ। कर्णाली प्रदेशका खसराज्य संस्थापकका उत्तराधिकारी राजा पृथ्वीमल्ल पछि जालन्धरी भएको कुरा प्रकाशमा आएको छ ।[३] ती जालन्धरी राजाका पालामा भोट तिब्बतबाट एक चटकी लामा आए, जसले जालन्धरी राजाका भन्दा बढी टुनामुना जानेको हुनाले जुम्ला राज्य ध्वस्त गरे। ती लामाको नाम छिछिम लामा भएको कुरा कर्णाली संस्कृतिबाट बुझिन्छ।[४] जुम्लामा प्राप्त स्थानीय वंशावलीमा समेत जालन्धरी राजाको नाम उल्लेख छ ।[५] त्यस्तै दुल्लूको दुलाल वंशावलीमा पनि जालन्धरीको अस्तित्व छ ।[६]

जुम्लेश्वर वंशावलीको आधारबाट हेर्दा जालन्धरी राजा सिंजा लामाथाडामा राजधानी बनाई राज्य गरेको कुरा बझिन्छ। भनिन्छ, उनी कडा शिलाको चेपबाट पैदा भएका थिए । उनकी पत्नी वृन्दा एक सुलक्षणा र सुन्दरी नारी थिइन्। त्यही लक्षणबाट लोकले उनलाई देवी झैं सम्मान गर्दथे । जालन्धरी राजा पराक्रमी र पुरुषार्थी हुनाले चीनबाट पनि सिर्तो (कर) उठाउँथे । तर उनका कुनै सन्तान थिएनन्। जालन्धरी राजाको सेवा भैरिमल्ल भन्ने व्यक्तिले इमान्दारीपूर्वक गरेको हुनाले निजलाई आफ्नो शेषपछि पूरै राज्य दिने निर्णय गरे । त्यो उपमाबाट जालन्धरी राजा भैरव देवताका उपासक रहेको बुझिन्छ। त्यसका साथै कनका सुन्दरी, त्रिपुरा सुन्दरी, पाटेश्वरी देवीको साक्षात् दर्शन पाउने जालन्धरी राजा नै थिए । उनले ती देवीहरूका वेग्लावेग्लै ठाउँमा स्थापना गराई नित्यपूजा चलाउने

जिम्मा पनि भैरिमल्ललाई सुम्पेका थिए । भैरिमल्ललाई सबै वाचाबन्धन गराएपछि जालन्धरी राजा बृद्ध भएपछि शेष जीवन तपस्या गरी बिताउने भनी बद्रीनाथ आश्रयतिर गए भन्ने वर्णन प्रकाशित छ ।[७]

कर्णाली प्रदेशमा जालन्धरी राजालाई अवतारी राजा पनि भनिएको छ। उनका बाबु शिला भएको कुरा माथि उल्लेख गरियो तापनि उनलाई नारायण भनिन्थ्यो । ती नारायणले विकट तपस्या गरी सिद्धि पाएका थिए । नारायणका बराज्यू रत्नज्योतिले लङ्कासम्मका राज्यहरूलाई आफ्नो वशमा पारेका थिए । त्यस्ता उन्नत कुलमा पैदा भएका जालन्धरी राजाका वृन्दा र कालिका नामक सुन्दरी रानीहरू थिए जो जुम्ली राजाका सुकुमारीहरू थिए। राजा जालन्धरीको व्यवहार अत्यन्त नम्र र शिष्ट थियो । त्यसैले उनी प्रजाका अति प्रिय शासक हुन सके ।[८]

जालन्धरी राजा त्रिपुरा सुन्दरी र कनक सुन्दरीका भक्त भएको कुरा माथि भनियो । ती प्रख्यात मन्दिरका संस्थापक जालन्धर राजा मानिन्छन् । यद्यपि उनको राज्यकालबारे निश्चित गर्न मिल्ने ठोस आधारहरू पाइएका छैनन् । प्रत्येक वर्णनबाट खोजी गर्दै जाँदा कर्णाली प्रदेशका राजा मलैवम्म वि.सं. १४३५ मा जुम्लाका राजा भएका थिए ।[९] उनीभन्दा एघारौँ पुस्ता अगाडि जुम्लामा जालन्धरी राजाको अस्तित्व रहेको बुझिन्छ। त्यो कुरा वंशावलीका श्रोतहरूबाट मात्र पुष्टि हुन्छ। स्पष्ट श्रोतको अभाव हुनाले इतिहास निर्माण गर्ने क्रममा एक शासकको राज्यकाल २५ वर्ष अनुमान गर्ने परम्परा छ । त्यसकारण २५X११=२७५, १४३५-२७५=११६० वि.सं.ताका जालन्धरी राजाको अनुमानित राज्यकाल देखिन आउँछ । त्यसरी हेर्दा ११५० देखि १२०० वि. सं. को अन्तरालमा राज्य गर्ने जुम्ली राजालाई जालन्धरी भन्न सकिने स्थिति हुनाले त्यस ताकाको कर्णाली प्रदेशको इतिहासपट्टि ध्यान पुऱ्याऔँ ।

इशाको बाह्रौँ शताब्दी वा ११०० ई. (११५९ वि.सं.) तिर पश्चिम नेपालको कर्णाली प्रदेशमा खारी प्रदेश (पश्चिम तिब्बतबाट) कुनै कारणबाट दक्षिणतर्फ झरी जावेश्वरमा राज्य स्थापना गरे । त्यसरी नयाँ क्षेत्रमा राज्य स्थापना गर्ने व्यक्ति थिए नागराज ।[१०] वि.सं. ११५७ तिर नागराज खारी प्रदेशबाट दक्षिणतिर लागेका थिए । त्यसै समयमा जुम्ला भेकमा जालन्धरी राजाको अस्तित्व रहेको बुझिन्छ । जालन्धरी राजा जुम्लामा राज्य गरेको बेलामा तिब्बतमा साधनारत् छिछिम लामा राजा नागराजको मन्त्रणाले जालन्धरी राजाको दरबारमा प्रवेश गरी त्यहाँको वास्तविक स्थिति बुझे । अनि मौका हेरी त्यहाँ विघ्न गराई राज्यलाई नष्ट पारी नागराजको राज्य स्थापना गराए । त्यसरी विचार गर्दा जालन्धरी राजा भन्नाले पालवंशीय शासक भएको अड्कल गर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । किनभने जुम्लामा खस मल्लहरूको आगमनपूर्व पाल राजाहरूको शासन रहेको कुरा दुल्लूको कीर्तिस्तम्भमा उल्लेख छ। जालन्धरी राजा वैदिक आर्य एवं पालवंशीय भएको बुझिन्छ । तर दुल्लूस्थित कीर्तिस्तम्भमा स्पष्टसंग जालन्धरी राजाको नाउँ छैन । राजा जयपाल पछिका राजाको नाउँ पुण्यमल्ल हो । जीवपाललाई जालन्धारी मान्न सकिने आधार पनि छैन । जालन्धरी राजा नागराजभन्दा अगाडिका देखिंदा तारतम्य मिल्न कठिन परेको हो । जालन्धरी हिन्दू नाम हो । कनफट्टा योगी सम्प्रदायमा गुरू गोरखनाथ लगायतका चौरासी सिद्धमध्ये जालन्धरनाथ वा जालन्धरपा नामका सिद्ध योगीको नाउँ पनि उल्लेख छ । जालन्धरपा चौरासी सिद्धमध्ये छयालिसौँ क्रममा पर्दछन् जो आदिनाथका शिष्य थिए ।[११]

उपर्युक्त कुरालाई पुष्टि गर्ने एक लोक इतिहासको श्रोत उपलब्ध भएको छ। जुम्लाका कल्याल

राजा बलिराजले जालन्धरी जस्ता बलिष्ठ राजाहरूलाई पराजित गरी ठूलो कीर्ति आर्जन गरेको कुरा कल्यालहरूको वंशावलीमा छ । त्यस कुराले जालन्धरी भनेपछि खसमल्ल राजाहरूलाई संकेत गरेको देखिन्छ । त्यस विषयमा एक लेखकले जुम्लामा बडाराजा जालन्धरी भएको कुरा उल्लेख गर्दै क्षत्रीय राजा वलिले सिंजापति राजाहरूलाई युद्धमा पराजित गर्दै आफ्नो राज्य कायम गरेको कुरा पनि प्रकाशन गरेका छन् । त्यसरी विचार गर्दा कल्याल राजा बलिराजले त मलैवम्म र मेदीनिवम्मको जुम्ला राज्य हात पारेका थिए । कल्यालको वंशावलीमा बलिराजले जालन्धरीलाई जुम्लाबाट जितेको भन्ने उल्लेख हुँदा कहिं मलैवम्म र मेदीनिवम्मलाई नै जालन्धरी भनेको त होइन ? भन्ने शंका उठ्न जान्छ । त्यसो भए जालन्धरी राजालाई वलिराजले पराजित गरेका थिएनन् । त्यसरी विचार गर्दा वलिराजले जालन्धरी राजालाई पराजित नगरेका भए कल्याल वंशावली मिथ्या सावित हुने भयो । अर्को पक्षबाट विचार गर्दा खस मल्लवंशका अन्तिम राजा अभयमल्ललाई जालन्धरी भनिएको होला, जसलाई मलैवम्मले बलिराजको सहयोग लिई पराजित गरेका थिए । अभयमल्ल नागराज र पालवंश दुवैका साझा सन्तान मानिन्छन्, उनलाई जालन्धरी भनिएको भए त्यो पनि स्पष्ट हुन सकेको छैन ।

भेरी अञ्चलको दुल्लू दैलेखमा प्राकृतिक वाष्प र ज्वालाक्षेत्र छ जहाँ भूगर्भभित्र प्राकृतिक ज्वलनशील वाष्प सञ्चित भएको ठानिन्छ । मुक्तिनाथ मुस्ताङ्गमा पनि आगो बलेको पानी बग्दछ वा पानीमाथि ज्वाला छ । त्यस्ता प्राकृतिक ज्वालालाई ज्वालामाई, वैश्वानर ज्वाला क्षेत्र वा ज्वालाजी क्षेत्र भनिन्छ । दुल्लूका ज्वालाहरूमा शीरस्थान, नाभिस्थान, पादुकास्थान, धूलेश्वर र डुङ्गेश्वर गरी पञ्च ज्वाला रहेकोले वैश्वानर पञ्चज्वाला माहात्म्य भनिन्छ । त्यो पञ्चज्वाला क्षेत्रमा शासन गरी बस्ने राजालाई ज्वालन्धरी वा जालन्धरी भनिएको हुँदा पनि दुल्लू क्षेत्रले जालन्धरको स्मरण गराउँछ । जालन्धरी राजा समुद्रवंशी थिए । स्कन्दपुराणले पनि वैश्वानर क्षेत्रको प्रशंसा गरेको छ । दुल्लूक्षेत्रलाई प्राकृत वन्हिक्षेत्र भन्दै त्यहाँ तीर्थाटन गर्नेलाई प्रशस्त पुण्य प्राप्त हुने कुरा पुराणले निर्देशन गरेको छ ।[१४] त्यसकारण दुल्लूका पाँचौटा ज्वाला प्रस्फुटित क्षेत्रलाई पञ्चकोशी वैश्वानर पावन क्षेत्र भनेको हो ।[१५]

एक विद्वान्ले खसमल्ल राजा अशोकचल्लका कान्छा छोरा जितारीमल्लका भाइ भएका र उनलाई जालन्धरी मल्ल भनिन्थ्यो भनेका छन् । त्यसको प्रमाणस्वरूप कालीकोट जिल्ला थिर्पु गाउँका सर्वासिंहवमसंग रहेको वंशावलीमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ, तापनि त्यो वंशावली प्रकाशमा आएको छैन ।[१६] त्यही भनाइबाट राजा जालन्धरीका पालामा जुम्ला नष्ट भ्रष्ट भएको र रिपुमल्लका पालामा राज्यको पुनर्निर्माण भएको भन्ने बुझिन्छ । जालन्धरी आफैं राजा नभई राजाका भाइ भएको कुरा माथि लेखियो जो विवादस्पद जस्तो लागेको छ । दुल्लूको कीर्तिस्तम्भमा राजा अशोकचल्लका दुई छोरा भएका र ती दुईको नाउँ जितारीमल्ल र आनन्दमल्ल भएको कुरा छ । माथिको भनाइलाई विचार गर्दा आनन्दमल्ललाई जालन्धरी भन्ने ठोस आधार मिलेको छैन ।

माथि बयान गरेजस्तै दुल्लूको पञ्चज्वाला क्षेत्रमा राज्य गर्ने पहिला र प्रामाणिक राजा नागराज हुनाले त्यही वंशलाई जालन्धरी भनेको कुरा पनि बुझिन्छ । तसर्थ जालन्धरी कुनै एकमात्र राजाको नाउँ रहेको कुरा विश्वासलाग्दो पनि देखिन्न । राजा नागराजले खारी प्रदेशबाट आफ्नो सैनिक बलले प्रदेशहरू दखल गर्दै जावेश्वर क्षेत्रमा उनले अधिकरण गरेको कुरा प्रमाणित भएको छ तर दुल्लू वैश्वानर क्षेत्रमा उनले अधिकरण गरेको प्रमाण मिलेको छैन । बरू

राजा अशोकचल्लको सपादलक्ष शिखरि साम्राज्य खडा गर्नुका साथै आफ्नो बलिष्ठ सेना सर्वगामिनिवाहिनी नामक संगठन अत्यन्तै विजिज्ञिषु रहेको पाइन्छ। उनका अभिलेखहरू दुल्लू क्षेत्रमा मात्र सीमित नभई गढवाल, बोधगया, कुमाउँ जस्ता ठाउँमा पनि पाइन्छन् । खसमल्ल राजा अशोकचल्लले त्यो साम्राज्यको चरम विस्तार गरेका थिए। उनका बाबु क्राचल्लले कुमाउँसम्म मात्र विजय गरेकोमा उनले अझ राज्य विस्तार गरी दिएर गढवाल टिहरीसम्म पुऱ्याइदिए । त्यो कुरा कुमाउका राजा पुरुषोत्तमसिंहको वालेश्वर महादेवको मन्दिरमा प्राप्त अशोकचल्लको स्तूतिवचनले पुष्टि गर्दछ । तसर्थ जालन्धरी राजा भनी अशोकचल्ललाई लिन सकिने पर्याप्त प्रमाणहरू जुटेका छन् । राजा क्राचल्लले वि.सं. १२६०-१२८०सम्म राजा अशोकचल्लले वि.सं. १३१२-१३३५सम्म राज्य गरेको प्रमाणित भएको छ ।[१७]

कर्णाली प्रदेशका खस मल्ल राजाहरू बुद्ध धर्मलाई पनि श्रद्धा गर्ने हुँदा राजा जालन्धरीका समयमा तिब्बत तर्फबाट भिक्षु र लामाहरू बेलाबेलामा सिजा दरबारमा भ्रमण गरी बस्तथे । त्यो परम्परा कल्याल राजा वत्सराजाको राज्यकालसम्म कायमै थियो । तर वत्सराजाले बुद्धगुम्बाहरू जीर्णोद्धार गर्न छोडेका कुरामा तिब्बती लामाहरूले गुनासो गरेका थिए । खसमल्ल राजाहरूले ११५० देखि १४१५ वि.सं. सम्म कर्णाली प्रदेशमा दखल गरेका थिए । त्यसपछि भने कर्णाली प्रदेशमा बाइसी राज्यहरू उत्पन्न भए। त्यही अन्तरालमा जुम्लामा वलिराजाको राज्य स्थापना भयो । उनले जालन्धरी राजालाई पराजित गरी बुद्ध, धर्म र संघलाई उपेक्षा गरेको कुरा तिब्बती श्रोतले बताएको छ । जालन्धरी वा समुद्रवंश भन्नुको तात्पर्य एउटै रहेको कुरा राजा आदित्य मल्लको वि.सं. १३७८ को ताम्रपत्रमा उनलाई समुद्रवंशी भनी उल्लेख गरिएबाट त्यो कुरामा पुष्टि मिल्दछ ।[१८] सुमद्रवंशी भन्नु र जालन्धरी भन्नुमा कुनै समान कुराको निर्देशन हुन सक्दछ । त्यसो हुँदा जालन्धरी राजाले वि.सं. १३१२ देखि १४१५ सम्म राज्य गरेको लक्षित हुन्छ । जालन्धरीको अर्थ जल-ज्वालासंग सम्बन्धित राजवंश वा वैश्वानर क्षेत्रका शासक भन्ने आधार पनि मिलेको छ ।

माथि उल्लेख गरे अनुसार राजा मलैवम्मलाई जालन्धरी वंशीय मान्न सकिने आधार पुगेन । उनका पूर्ववर्ती शासकलाई कुनैले पराजित गरेमा नत्रँ शासकले आफ्नो इज्जत स्वरूप पराजित राजाको थर विजयी राजाले लिने चलन थियो । खारी प्रदेशबाट जावेश्वर एवं ज्वालाजी क्षेत्रका जालन्धरी राजाहरूलाई पराजित गरी खसमल्लको शासन स्थापना गरेकोले त्यो वंशलाई पनि जालन्धरी नै भनियो । जालन्धरी राजालाई पराजित गर्नको निम्ति नागराजले भोटबाट एक लामा सिजामा पठाउन सक्ने कुरा माथि पनि निर्देश गरियो । उनै लामाको अध्ययन पछि सिंजा लामाथाडा हल्लियो र तिब्बती सेनाले एक्कासी आक्रमण गऱ्यो । जुम्लामा "सिउ बाघ गर्जायौँ लामाथाडा हल्लायौँ" भन्ने उखान प्रचलित छँदै छ। त्यसपछि पालराज्य ज्वालाजी क्षेत्रमा समाप्त भई त्यसका वंशजहरू लेकगेला र औलगेलामा आत्मरक्षा गर्न खुम्चिएर बसेको अनुमान गर्न थालिएको छ ।

नागराजद्वारा स्थापित खसमल्ल राजाहरूको शासन क्रम आदित्यमल्लका पालामा टुट्न गएकोले उनले गेलामा बसोबास गरेका पालवंशीय पुण्यपाललाई राजा आदित्यमल्लले आफ्नी छोरी शकुनामालाको विवाह गरिदिएका कारणबाट पुण्यमल्ल भन्ने नामबाट जुम्लाका शासक भएका थिए । त्यसरी नागराजवंशीय शासकहरूको राज्यमा राजा भएकाले पुण्यपालले गौरवसाथ पुण्यमल्ल लेखे । उनै पुण्यमल्लका सन्तति अभयमल्ललाई मलैवम्म र कल्यालका पूर्खा वलिराजले

हटाएका र आफ्नो राज्य स्थापना गरेका हुनाले जालन्धरी राजालाई जितेको भनी गौरवसाथ लेखेको पाइन्छ। अर्को कुरा, राजा मलैवम्मको वंशलाई जालन्धर वंश भन्नुको तात्पर्य स्पष्ट भएको छैन । वम्म वा वर्मावंशीय शासकहरूले पहिले खसमल्ल राजाका महामन्त्री भएर कार्य गरेको कुरा यशोवर्माको विभिन्न अभिलेखमा उल्लेख भएको पाइन्छ। त्यो वर्मा वंश पनि जालन्धरी वंशसंग सम्बन्धित रहेको हुँदा पछिका शासकले उनीहरूलाई जालन्धरी भनेको हुन सक्तछ, तापनि त्यसलाई पुष्टि गर्ने आधार पाइएको छैन। अर्को कुरा, राजा मलैवम्मले ज्वालाजी प्रदेशलाई पनि आफ्नो राज्यमा मिलाएका हुनाले उनलाई त्यही आधारबाट जालन्धरी भनिएको होस् । उनका छोरा मेदीनिवम्म वा जगतिसिंहले जाजरकोट र सुमेरूवम्मले दैलेखमा राज्यस्थापना गरेको कुरा स्पष्ट भएको छ।[१९] त्यसो हुनाले खसमल्ल वंशलाई नै जालन्धरी नभनी मलयवम्म र पालवंशीय गेलाल शासकहरूलाई जालन्धरी भन्न मिल्ने स्थिति छ। किनभने मलैवम्मको पुस्तावलीमा जालन्धरीको नाउँ पनि भेटिएको छ। जालन्धरी राजाले भैरीमल्ललाई राज्य दिएको र त्यही वंशका मलैवम्म भएको कुराले पुष्टि गरेको छ।

जुम्लाको सिंजाखोला उपत्यकामा जालन्धरी राजाको ठूलो इज्जत छ। उनैले कर्णाली क्षेत्रका प्राचीन मन्दिरहरू निर्माण र पूजाको व्यवस्था गरेको कुरा पनि छ। सिंजा खोलाका ठकुरीहरूका बाजेलाई जालन्धरी भनिदै छ। खसमल्ल राजालाई जालन्धरी भनिदैन बरू पृथ्वीमल्ल पछि जालन्धरी भएको कुरा प्रचलित छ। आदित्यवंश, गेलावंश र नागराजका वंशले स्पष्टसंग जालन्धरी लेखेको पाइन्न। मलैवम्मको वंशावलीमा १० पुस्ता वा १२ पुस्ता पहिले स्पष्टसंग जालन्धरीको उल्लेख छ। खसमल्ल राजा नागराजदेखि अन्तिम पुरुष प्रतापमल्लसम्मका राजाले नाहन-जालन्धर क्षेत्रलाई वशमा पारेकाले जालन्धरी राजा भन्दैनन् ।[२०] जालन्धरीलाई गोसाईंदेव पनि भनेको हुँदा उनी राजकुमार रहेको संकेत पनि मिल्दछ ।[२१] त्यसैले जालन्धरी शब्द सबै राजकुमारलाई सम्बोधन गरिने पर्यावाचीका रूपमा रहेको बुझिन्छ। त्यसै रीतले त्यो जालन्धर, ज्वालाजी, वैश्वानर पञ्चज्वाला क्षेत्रका राजालाई पनि जालन्धरी भनेको छ। अर्कोतिर उपर्युक्त क्षेत्रमा युगौंदेखि तपस्या गरी बस्ने ठूला सिद्ध, सन्त, महन्त, अघोरी, कनफट्टा, फक्कड, फकेडा, नागा, बैरागी तथा उदाशहरूलाई एकै शब्दले पुकारिन्थ्यो- "जालन्धरी महाराज" । जालन्धरीको अर्को अर्थ सांसारिक मायाको जञ्जाललाई काट्ने र मोक्षको मार्गमा अग्रणी हुने पात्रलाई जनाउने हुन्छ। राजालाई राजा मात्र भनिन्छ भने योगीलाई महाराजा भनिन्छ र उनीहरूको उपदेश राजाहरूले लिने गर्थे ।

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सुवर्णद्वार

- डा. पुरूषोत्तम लोचन श्रेष्ठ

भक्तपुर राजदरबार आवतजावत गर्ने मूलद्वार सुवर्णद्वार हो। यस द्वारको पूर्वपट्टि पचपन्नभ्याले दरबार, पश्चिममा सिंहध्वाखा दरबारका भागहरू तथा उत्तरमा यमद्वारचोक र दक्षिणमा राजदरबारको विशाल प्राङ्गण छ।

मल्लकालीन अन्तिम उत्कृष्ट कृतिको रूपमा देखापरेको यस सुवर्णद्वार रणजित मल्लले बनाउनुपूर्व पनि (मूलद्वारलाई सुवर्णद्वारमा परिणत गर्नुपूर्व) दरबार पस्ने मूलद्वार यहीं थियो। मूलद्वारलाई सुवर्णद्वारको रूपमा परिणत गरी विशेष रूपमा सजाउने कार्य रणजित मल्लको पालामा पूरा भए तापनि पूर्वयोजना जगज्योर्ति मल्लको पालामै बनेको बुझिन्छ।

तत्कालीन समयमा **निवा** शाक्यहरू सुवर्ण कालिगढका रूपमा प्रसिद्ध थिए। सुवर्णद्वार निर्माण गर्नको निमित्त ने.सं. ७६६ (वि.सं. १७०३) मा जगज्योर्ति मल्लले ललितपुरको क्वावहालबाट गुणसिंहदेव निवा र भावदेव निवाहरूलाई ल्याई भक्तपुरको वुथुवहीमा बसालेको बुझिन्छ।[१] दुर्भाग्यवश सुवर्णद्वार बनाउन नपाउँदै उनीहरूको मृत्यु भयो, तापनि यसैको एउटा सानो प्रारूप (नमूना) उनीहरूले निर्माण गरिसकेका थिए।[२]

यस प्रकार मूलद्वारलाई सुवर्णद्वारमा परिणत गर्ने प्रयासले निकै लामो समय लिएको देखिन आएको छ।

रणजित मल्लले आफ्नो राज्य अन्तर्गतका ग्रामप्रदेशहरूबाट उठेको आम्दानीबाट दुमाजु तलेजू

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१) क. गुणसिंह निवाका वंशज वर्तमान **निवा** परिवारका बुद्धरत्न बुद्धाचार्य, तेजरत्न शाक्यहरूबाट प्राप्त जानकारीको आधारमा।

ख. तेजरत्न शाक्य "स्वर्णद्वार र निवा शाक्य" **पासुका**, (भक्तपुर, सुथां, वि.सं. २०५२), वर्ष २, अंक १, पृ. ३

२) भक्तपुरका **निवा** शाक्यहरूले **बही द्योःव्वये** गर्दा उक्त सुवर्णद्वारको प्रतिरूप अद्यापि पनि प्रदर्शन गर्दै आएका छन्, निवा शाक्यहरूका अनुसार जितामित्र मल्लले दिएको बकसपत्रमा पनि सो नमूनारूपको सुवर्णद्वारको चर्चा परेको छ।

सुवर्णद्वारमाथिको तोरण, भक्तपुर

सुवर्णद्वार, भक्तपुर

आदि देवताहरूको नित्य नैमित्तिक पूजाआजा चलाउनको निमित्त अनेक पूजासामग्रीहरू राखिएको देखिन आएको छ। त्यस्तै तिब्बतसितको व्यापारबाट पनि उनले निकै आर्थिक लाभ प्राप्त गरेका थिए। चाँदीका मुद्राहरूको बढ्ता प्रचलन तिब्बतमा यिनकै राज्यकालमा भएको थियो। त्यताबाट नाफाको रूपमा सुन प्राप्त भएको अवसरमा उनले तलेजुमा एउटा **था पूजा** (व्रमार्चन पूजा) पनि राखेको देखिन्छ। जुन **लुं दव था पूजा** को नामले अद्यापि पनि हरेक वर्षको पौष शुदि ५ रोजका दिनमा चल्दै आएको छ।[३]

यसरी उक्त सन्दर्भमा भक्तपुर राज्य अन्तर्गत ग्रामप्रदेशहरूबाट उठेको आम्दानी र तिब्बतसितको व्यापारिक कारोबारबाट प्राप्त सुन र अन्य लाभहरूबाट आर्थिक स्थिति दरिलो हुन पुगेको अनुकूल परिस्थितिमा सुवर्णद्वार निर्माणको अधूरो योजनालई साकार पार्ने गुणसिंहदेवका वंशज सुभाकर, वरूणाकर र रतिकरहरूलाई सुवर्णद्वार बनाउन लगाए; यी तीन स्वर्ण कालिगढहरूले सुवर्णद्वार निर्माण कार्यको शुरूवात ने.सं. ८७१ (वि.सं. १८०८) मा गरेका थिए।[४] तीन वर्ष पछि (ने.सं. ८७४) बनाउन सिध्याए।

यसरी आफ्नो शासनकालमा सुवर्णद्वार निर्माणकार्य पूरा भएको हुनाले रणजित मल्ल निकै खुशी भई सुवर्णद्वार बनाइदिने स्वर्णकालिगढहरू र तिनका सन्तानका निमित्त **जेतवर्ण महाविहार** (वंशगोपालमा) र **खौमाबहाल** निर्माण गर्न लगाए; जग्गा प्रदान गरी सामान्य जनतालाई भन्दा विशेष सहुलियत पनि प्रदान गरे[५], स्वर्ण कालिगढहरूले मान्दै आएका विश्वकर्मा देवता (महामञ्जुश्री) लाई चाँदीको **हलेफो** (चारपाते गहना विशेष) चढाएका थिए।[६] त्यस्तै सुवर्णद्वार बनाउन सफल भएपछि स्वर्ण कालिगढहरूले पनि एउटा **हेलेफो** आफ्ना देवता महामञ्जुश्रीलाई चढाएका थिए।[७]

सुवर्णद्वारको निर्माणकार्य पूरा भएको अवसरमा रणजित मल्लले आफ्नी पत्नी जयलक्ष्मीसहित "कोटचाहुति यज्ञ" गरेका थिए। उपत्यकाका मल्ल दरबारहरूमा पहिलो पल्ट राजदरबार पस्ने मूलद्वारलाई सुवर्णद्वारको रूपमा निर्माण गर्न पाएकोमा रणजित मल्लको फूर्ति यसबखत बढेको बुझिन्छ; त्यस्तै भक्तपुर राज्य अन्तर्गत पर्ने उत्तर पूर्वका प्रदेशहरू पनि यतिबेला उनको अधिकारमा पुनः आइसकेको हुनाले पनि उनको

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३) क. "पौष शुदि ५ ॥ देश लु दव्या ... था पूजा ..."
पुरूषोत्तम लोचन श्रेष्ठको संग्रहमा रहेको अप्रकाशित "श्री ३ तलेजुस्के था पूजाया संकल्पवाक्य" ठ्यासफू, प्रतिलिपिबाट।

ख. पुरूषोत्तम लोचन श्रेष्ठ- "भक्तपुर तलेजुको था पूजा: एक ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण" **प्राचीन नेपाल**, (काठमाडौं, पुरातत्त्व विभाग, वि.सं. २०४४), संख्या १०४, पृ. १६।

४) भक्तपुरका **निवा** परिवारका श्री तेजरत्न शाक्य, बुद्धरत्न बुद्धाचार्यहरूबाट प्राप्त जानकारीको आधारमा।

५) वज्रकौसी निकाली बनाइएको एउटा घर केही वर्ष पूर्व जेतवर्ण महाविहारमा थियो; त्यस्तै आँखीभ्यालमा शिशा लगाई बनाइएको एउटा घर खौमाबहालमा अद्यापि देख्न सकिन्छ। यसरी साधारण जनताको घरमा यसप्रकारको सहुलियत प्रदान गरिएको यो पहिलो अवसर थियो। - शाक्य "स्वर्णद्वार र निवा शाक्य" पृ. ४।

६) परिशिष्ट १ संख्याको अभिलेख।

७) परिशिष्ट २ संख्याको अभिलेख।

फूर्ति बढेको थियो । यसो हुँदा रणजित मल्लले फूर्तिकासाथ आफ्नो राज्य "नालदूम पूर्व, दूधकोशी पश्चिम र दोलखासम्म फैलिएको भनेर सुवर्णद्वारको बायाँ पट्टिको भित्ताको सुवर्णाभिलेखमा लेखाएका छन्।[८]

वास्तुकलाको दृष्टिले सुवर्णद्वार एक तले नेपाली मन्दिरको रचना शैलीमा निर्मित छ। छानाको प्रयोग नेपाली मन्दिरको प्रमुख विशेषता हो। मुख्यतया ताम्रधातु[९] माटो, काठ, ईंट र ढुङ्गाको प्रयोगबाट बनेको यस द्वारमा धातुमा सुनको जलप लगाइएकोले सुवर्णद्वारको रूप लिन पुगेको छ। सलामी परेर गएको छानाको ठीक बीचमा कमलासनमा "खड्ग" छ। खड्गलाई कलात्मक रूपबाट कुँदिएका बुट्टाहरूको आकृति सजाइएको छ; त्यसको शीर्षमा (खड्गको ठीक माथि) एउटा सानो आकारको छत्र छ ।

शाक्त तान्त्रिक परम्परामा खड्गलाई साक्षात देवीकै रूपमा वा प्रतिनिधिको रूपमा पनि मान्दै आएको पाइन्छ । विधिपूर्वक अष्टमीको दिनमा खड्गस्थापन (खड्गसिद्धिको प्रार्थना) गरी दशमीको दिनमा "खड्गचालन" वा "खड्गजात्रा" गर्ने चलन अहिले पनि छ । सांग्रामिक शक्ति र सुरक्षाको पनि प्रतीक हुनाले मल्ल राजाहरूमा खड्गसिद्धि (तान्त्रिक देवीदेवताबाट खड्ग साटेर) प्राप्त गर्ने चलन विशेष लोकप्रिय थियो ।

मल्लकालमा खड्ग राजचिन्हकै रूपमा वा राजप्रतिनिधिको रूपमा पनि प्रसिद्ध थियो । धार्मिक सांस्कृतिक उत्सवताका राज प्रतीकको रूपमा राजदरबारबाट खड्ग लाने ल्याउने चलन अहिले पनि छ । त्यस्तै महत्त्वपूर्ण राजनैतिक तथा प्रशासनिक मामलामा शाहकालमा **लालमोहर** प्रचलित रहे झैं मल्लकालमा खड्ग चिन्हको छाप लगाउने चलन थियो; भूमिसम्बन्धी तमसूक-ताडपत्रहरूमा लगाइएका "खड्गछाप" (राणाकालमा प्रचलित "खड्गनिशानाछाप" यो होइन) यसको एउटा उदाहरण हो ।[१०]

यसरी राजदरबार शासन प्रशासनको मूल थलो मात्र नभएर धार्मिक सांस्कृतिक मूल थाले पनि रहँदै आएको त्यसबखतको परिस्थितिमा त्यस्ता महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्षहरूको प्रतीकको रूपमा यस सुवर्णद्वारको छानामा खड्ग राखिएको बुझिन्छ । त्यस्तै छत्रलाई पनि राजचिन्हकै रूपमा मानिन्छ ।

खड्गमाथि छानाको टुप्पामा लहरै तीनवटा गजूरहरू छन्। बीचको गजूर दायाँ बायाँका गजूरहरूभन्दा केही ठूलो छ । गजूरलाई मङ्गलको प्रतीक तथा पूर्णकलशको रूपमा पनि मानिन्छ । यसरी गजूरहरू हालिएकोले सुवर्णद्वारले मन्दिरको रूप लिन पुगेको छ । उपत्यकाका तीन मल्ल दरबारहरू राजकीय बासस्थानको रूपमा मात्र नभएर तान्त्रिक

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८) "श्री ३ स्वेष्टदेवता प्रीतिन कोटचाहुतियज्ञ याङाव नालदूम पूर्व, दूधकोशी पश्चिम, दोलखासहित राज्य याङाव थ्व पालध्वाकास सुवर्णद्वार, तोरण, पोलल, गजुल छाया व दुता ॥" - परिशिष्ट ३ "ख" संख्याको अभिलेख ।

९) धार्मिक परम्परामा अनेक प्रकारका धातुहरूले अनेक (देवीदेवताका) अर्थ र मान्यता पाउँदै आएको बुझिन्छ। सुवर्णधातु झैं ताम्रधातुलाई पनि पवित्र एवं साक्षात् महादेवकै रूपमा पनि पुजिने हुँदा सुवर्णद्वारको निर्माणमा ताम्रधातुलाई प्रयोगमा ल्याएको बुझिन्छ ।

१०) डा. पुरूषोत्तम लोचन श्रेष्ठ "अप्रकाशित केही ताडपत्रहरू र फार्षति पत्रहरू" **रोलम्बा** (ललितपुर, जोशी रिसर्च इन्स्टिच्यूट, इ.सं. १९९३) भोलम १३ ।

देवीदेवताहरूको बासस्थानको रूपमा पनि प्रसिद्ध छ। तलेजू, दुमाज आदि यसका उदाहरण हुन्। मल्लकालदेखि भक्तपुर राजदरबारमा मानेश्वरी, दुमाज र तलेजूले राजकीयस्तरमा विशेष मान्यता पाउँदै आएको छ। यताबाट ती त्रिशक्तिकै प्रतीक[११] तीन गजूरहरू यस सुवर्णद्वारमा राखिएको बुझिन्छ।

सुवर्णद्वारका तीन गजूरहरूलाई खुल्लारूपको कलात्मक बुट्टा भएको एउटा तोरणले सजाइएको छ। उक्त तोरणमाथि एउटा छत्र छ, तोरणको शीर्षभागको दायाँ बायाँ ससाना तीन तीन वटा **फेगं:** (हावा चल्दा बज्ने घण्टाहरू) झुण्डचाइएका छन्। यसै तोरण तथा गजूरका दायाँ बायाँ झण्डाहरू छन्। दुवै झण्डाका टुप्पामा हनुमान् पनि देखाइएको छ।

मल्ल राजाहरूले आफूलाई रामचन्द्रका वंशजका रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरेका थिए। यसैकारण रामचन्द्रका ठूला सहायक परमवीर हनुमान् प्रति उनीहरूले विशेष आदरभाव राखी झण्डामा पनि हनूमान्को आकृति राख्न लगाएका हुन्थे। यताबाट मल्ल राजाहरूले आफूलाई "हनूमद्ध्वज" भनेर देखाउन खोजेको कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ। यद्यपि कान्तिपुर र ललितपुरका मल्ल राजाहरूले आफ्नो राजप्रशस्तिमा पनि "हनूमद्ध्वज" भनेर लेखाएका अभिलेखहरू पाइन्छन्, तर भक्तपुरका मल्ल राजाहरूले चाहिं लेख्न लगाएको पाइएको छैन। तापनि सुवर्णद्वारको झण्डाका टुप्पामा हनूमान्को आकृति राख्न लगाएर "हनूमद्ध्वज"को रूपमा चिनाउन खोजेको कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ।

प्राकृतिक विपत्तिबाट राजदबारको सुरक्षा गर्न, शत्रुलाई नाश पार्न, भूतप्रेत आदिबाट बच्न मल्ल राजाहरूले आफ्ना दरबारमा हनूमान्को मूर्ति स्थापना गरेका हुन्थे। त्यस्तै सोही आशयले झण्डामा पनि हनूमान्को आकृति राख्ने गरेको कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ। महाभारतको कथामा हनूमान्लाई भीमसेनभन्दा पनि निकै बलवान व्यक्तित्वको रूपमा वर्णन गरिएको छ; शत्रुलाई नाश पार्न सक्ने खूबी कै कारण अर्जुनको रथको झण्डामा यिनी शोभायमान हुन पुगेको कथा हाम्रो यहाँ प्रसिद्ध छ। यसकारण पनि मल्ल राजाहरूले आफ्ना झण्डामा हनूमान्को आकृति राखेका हुन् भन्ने कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ।

सुवर्णद्वारका यी झण्डाहरू नेपालको राष्ट्रिय झण्डाको रचना शैलीसित मिल्दोजुल्दो छ। धातुद्वारा निर्मित यस्तै एकजोडी झण्डा भक्तपुरको वाराही देव मन्दिरमा पनि छ। यताबाट मल्लकालीन दरबार एवं देवालयका झण्डाहरूको रचना शैलीको मूल छाप नेपालको राष्ट्रिय झण्डामा परेको छ भन्ने कुरा देखिन आएको छ।

सुवर्णद्वारको छानाको टुप्पाको लहरमा (झण्डाको दायाँ बायाँ) एकजोडी उड्न लागेका सिंह छन्। ती सिंहहरू फूर्तिला देखिन्छन्। यसै लहरमा पूर्व पश्चिम दिशातर्फ सूँड उचाली फर्किरहेका एकजोडी हात्ती पनि छन्। सिंह र हात्तीको आकृतिहरू शक्ति, सुरक्षा, सम्पन्नता एवं मङ्गलको प्रतीकका रूपमा रहेका देखिन्छन्।[१२]

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११) धार्मिक परम्परामा त्रिशक्ति (त्रैकवाद) को प्रयोग प्रतीक अर्थको रूपमा व्यापक रूपमा हुँदै आएको देखिन्छ; **सत्व रज तम, महाकाली, महासरश्वती र महालक्ष्मी, ब्रम्हा, विष्ण र महेश्वर** आदि यसका उदाहरण हुन्।

१२) सिंहभन्दा हात्तीको जीउ ठूलो हुन्छ, तर सुवर्णद्वारमा हात्तीभन्दा सिंहको आकृति ठूलो देखाइएको छ। जीउले हात्ती ठूलो भए तापनि बलले चाहिं सिंह नै ठूलो हो भन्ने कुरा प्रतीकका रूपमा बुझाउन खोजेको आभास हुन्छ।

सुवर्णद्वारको छानाको दुवै कुनामा शीर मात्र देखिने गरी बनाइएका काल्पनिक रूपका आकृतिहरू (गरुडको जस्तो आकृति) छन्। त्यसपछि छानाको दुवै कुनामा (पूर्व, पश्चिम) माथिबाट तल झरिरहेका एकजोडी मकर छन्। छाना मुनिको एक लहर कलात्मक बुट्टाले सजाइएको छ।

दचि अप्पा (ईंट विशेष) बाट सुवर्णद्वारको गारो बनेको छ। गारोको माथिल्लो र पूर्व पश्चिमका किनारा-भागहरू सुनको जलप लगाइएको ताम्रधातुको पाताले मोरिएको छ। गारोलाई मजबूत तुल्याइराख्न यसो गरेको हुनुपर्छ। त्यस्तै गारोको माथिल्लो भागमा दायाँ बायाँ दुवैतिर सुनको जलप लगाइएका १६ वटा जति किल्लाहरू ठोकिएका छन्; सुवर्णद्वारलाई मजबूत तुल्याइराख्न यस्तो रचना गरिएको हुनु पर्छ।

सुवर्णद्वारको दायाँ बायाँ भित्तामा दुईवटा सुवर्ण पत्रहरू छन्।[१३] रणजित मल्लले ने.सं. ८७४ मा सुवर्णद्वार बनाएको अवसरमा आफ्नो शुयश कीर्ति रहोस् भन्ने अभिप्रायले राख्न लगाएका थिए।

सुवर्णद्वारको दायाँ बायाँ भित्तामा (सुवर्णपत्रको तल) पूर्णकलश छन्।[१४] माङ्गलिक चिन्हको प्रतीक पूर्णकलशलाई पूर्णताको प्रतीकको साथै तान्त्रिक धर्मले साक्षात् देवीकै रूपमा पनि मान्दै आएको बुझिन्छ। उदाहरणको रूपमा वत्सलादेवीलाई लिन सकिन्छ; भक्तपुर राजदरबारस्थित वत्सलादेवीको एक तले रातो मन्दिरभित्र प्रतिष्ठित पूर्णकलशलाई वत्सलादेवीको रूपमा पूजिन्छ। "अन्नपूर्णा" "गुह्यश्वरी" आदि पनि यसका उदाहरण हुन्।

सुवर्णद्वारको दायाँ बायाँ (पूर्णकलशको तल) चारपाटे डबलीहरू छन्। यहाँ उहिले द्वारको रक्षा गरी बस्ने द्वारपाल रहन्थे।[१५] त्यस्तै विजयादशमीको रातमा तलेजू भवानीको **पायोजात्रा** चलाउनुपर्दा त्यस दिनको साईत अनुसार माथिल्लो टंल (थने) हुँदै देश परिक्रमा गर्नु पर्ने भएमा "थने न्ह्याःवेगु" भनेर बायाँपट्टिको डबलीमा र तलतिरको टोल हुँदै (कोने) देश परिक्रमा गर्नु पर्ने भएमा "कोने न्हचायेकेगु" भनेर दायाँपट्टिको डबलीमा बिसाउने चलन छ। यताबाट ती डबलीहरू द्वारपालको प्रयोजनका लागि मात्र नभएर राजदरबारद्वारा संचालित महत्त्वपूर्ण धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक आदि उत्सवताका प्रयोगमा ल्याउनको निमित्त पनि बनाइएका थिए भन्ने कुराको पुष्टि मिल्छ।

सुवर्णद्वारको तोरणमाथि छत्र छ; तोरणको शीर्षमा पखेटा फिंजाएर उडन लागेको गरुडले आफ्ना नंग्राले सर्प च्यापिरहेको देखाइएको छ। दायाँ बायाँ नृत्य मुद्रामा अप्सराहरू छन्, तोरणको यसै लहरमा यसको तल एकजोडी नागिनीहरू छन्, त्यसभन्दा मुनि पूर्व पश्चिम फर्केर रहेका एकजोडी मकर छन्, दुवै मकरका जिब्रोमा तीन-तीनवटा फे गंःहरू झुण्डचाइएका छन्; तोरणको मूलभागमा महिषासुर मर्दिनी भगवतीको

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१३) परिशिष्ट ३ संख्याका अभिलेखहरू।

१४) अष्टमङ्गल (माछा, छत्र, ध्वज, श्रीवत्स, कलश, शंख, चक्रचामर) सहितको कलशलाई पूर्णकलशको रूपमा मान्ने चलन छ। सुवर्णद्वारको पूर्णकलश त्रिखुत्रि-आसनमा छ। आष्टमङ्गलको दायाँ बायाँ सूर्य चन्द्र रहन्छ।

१५) रणजित मल्लले **पालध्वाका**मा सुवर्णद्वार, तोरण, छाना, गजूर बनाई चढाएको उल्लेख बायाँ पट्टिको सुवर्णपत्रमा परेको छ। यताबाट राजदरबार प्रवेश गर्ने मूलद्वार सुवर्णद्वारमा परिणत हुनु पूर्व **पालध्वाका** नामले प्रसिद्ध थियो भन्ने कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ। स्वर्णकालिगढहरूले चढाएको हेलेफोमा चाहिं **नेपालध्वाका** उल्लेख भएको छ।

सुन्दर र कलात्मक मूर्ति छ; जुन सुवर्णद्वारको मूल आकर्षण एवं तान्त्रिक रूपबाट गुप्तरूपमा आगममा प्रतिष्ठापित तजेजू भवानीको सर्वसाधारणले पनि दर्शन गर्न सकिने विविध रूपमध्येको एउटा मूल रूप वा प्रतीक बनेर रहेको छ ।[१६] यस मूर्तिमा भवानीका चारवटा शीर र दश वटा हाटहरू (सम्बद्ध लक्षण र आयुधहरू सहित) छन्; कमलासनमा उभिएको यो देवीका दायाँ पाउतिर गरुड र बायाँ पाउतिर महिषासुर छन् । महिषासुरलाई दुःख र मृत्युको प्रतीक मानिन्छ भने दुःख नाश पारी मृत्युबाट बचाउने, शत्रुको संहार गर्ने देवीको रूपमा महिषमर्दिनी भगवती (दुर्गा भवानी) धार्मिक परम्परामा निकै लोकप्रिय छिन् । दशैंताका तलेजू भवानीलाई (दुर्गा भवानी) नवदुर्गाको रूपमा तान्त्रिक विधिपूर्वक पूजा उपासना गरी मान्ने चलन छ ।

सुवर्णद्वारको तोरणको मूलदेवी (तलेजू भवानी) को दायाँ बायाँ गंगा र जमुनाका मूर्तिहरू छन् । ती मूर्तिमा गंगाका वाहन **मकर** र जमुनाका वाहन **कछुवा** छन्; धार्मिक दृष्टिले र प्राकृतिक रूपबाट पनि यो जलसित सम्बद्ध छन्; यसकारण पवित्र जलकै प्रतीक रूपमा रहेको देखिन्छ । गंगा जमुनाका ठूला मूर्तिहरू (मानव कदका) तलेजू आगम मन्दिरको मूलद्वारको दायाँ बायाँ पनि छन् ।[१७] यताबाट देवगृहको दायाँ बायाँ अथवा तोरणको दायाँ बायाँ गंगा जमुनाका मूर्ति राख्ने चलन पहिलेदेखि नै थियो भन्ने कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ ।

सुवर्णद्वारको तोरणपुनि द्वारको दायाँ बायाँ निम्न आकृति कुँदिएका छन्-

दायाँ	**बायाँ**
काली	काली (भोजन मुद्रामा)
गणेश	कुमार
भैरव	भगवती
कलश	कलश
कुवेर	कुवेर (शक्ति)
सिंह[१८]	सिंह

समग्रमा उक्त मूर्तिहरू शक्ति, सुरक्षा, धन दौलत, शुभ कर्म, कार्यसिद्धि, कुशल मङ्गल आदिका प्रतीकका रूपमा पनि रहेका छन् ।

सुवर्णद्वार दुई खापामा विभक्त छ; ती दुवै खापाका तल्लो खण्डमा पनि चाहिएको बेलामा खोल्न हुने गरी साना खापाहरू बनाइएका छन् ।

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१६) आगम तथा देवालयका गर्भगृहमा गुह्यरूपमा स्थापित देवीदेवताका रूप (ध्यान, भाव, आयुध, वाहन, वर्ण तथा तान्त्रिक भाव झल्कने अनेक रूपहरू आदि) लाई तोरण, टुंडाल आदिमा देखाएर राख्ने चलन मल्लकालमा विशेष लोकप्रिय रहेको बुझिन्छ । सम्बद्ध देवदेवीको दीक्षामन्त्रको अधिकार नपाएका सर्वसाधारणले समेत दर्शन गर्न पाओस् भन्ने अभिप्रायले पनि तोरण, टुंडाल आदिमा मूल देवदेवीका अनेक रूप एवं भाव झल्कने मूर्ति आदि राख्न लगाएको बुझिन्छ । तलेजू आगमको अतिरिक्त डाटापोल देगः (पाँचतले मन्दिर) यसका उदाहरण हुन् । तलेजूको दीक्षामन्त्र लिएकाहरूलाई बाहेक अरूलाई आगममा प्रवेश गर्ने, दर्शन गर्ने अधिकार छैन, त्यस्तै सम्बद्ध दीक्षाधारीलाई बाहेक अरूलाई पाँचतले मन्दिर भित्रको सिद्धिलक्ष्मी देवीको दर्शन, पूजा गर्ने अधिकार छैन; यसकारण सर्वसाधारणका निमित्त आगमभित्रका कुरा तान्त्रिक परिप्रेक्ष्यमा रहस्यपूर्ण रहे तापनि तोरण टुंडालमा कुँदिएका मूर्तिको माध्यमबाट दर्शनीय हुन पुगेका छन् ।

१७) ती मूर्तिहरू वि.सं. १६९८ मा राजा नरेशमल्लले स्थापना गरेका हुन् ।

१८) यो सिंहका आकृतिहरू ढुङ्गाबाट बनाइएका छन् ।

सुवर्णद्वारको चौकोसको बीचमा दायाँ बायाँ दुई नेत्रहरू छन्; ती द्वारनेत्रहरू हुन् । आगमको मूलद्वारमा तीन नेत्र राख्ने चलन छ । राजदरबार भित्र तलेजू आगम पनि भएको हुनाले ती नेत्रहरू आगमकै चिन्हस्वरूप राखिएका हुन् । सुर्वणद्वारको तेश्रो नेत्रको रूपमा (मूल नेत्र) तोरणको मूलदेवता स्वयं दुर्गा भवानी छिन् ।

सुवर्णद्वारको चौकोसको दायाँ बायाँ कुनामा माउसुलीहरू पनि देखा पर्छन्; ती माउसुलीहरू पनि सुरक्षाकै प्रतीक हुन् ।

उक्त परिप्रेक्ष्यमा विचारणीय कुरा के छ भने सुवर्णद्वारमा देखापरेका आकृतिहरू सन्तुलनको आधारमा यथास्थानमा राखिएका छन्; जोडी आकृतिहरू दायाँ बायाँ छन् भने एक संख्याका आकृति चाहिं दायाँ बायाँका बीचमा छन् । महिषमर्दिनी दुर्गाभवानी, छत्र, खड्ग, ठूलो गजूर, गरुड आदि यसका उदाहरण हुन् । सुवर्णद्वारमा देखिने एउटा मूल विशेषता यो पनि हो ।

सुवर्णद्वार बनाएपछि रणजित मल्लले यस द्वारभित्र जुत्ता, अपवित्र वस्तुहरू (कासाल) आदि लिएर लगाएर जान नपाइने नियम बनाई सोही कुरा यसै द्वारको बायाँपट्टिको अभिलेखमा पनि (लकाम, कासाल दुता यने मदुः) लेखाउन लगाएका थिए । तर दुःखको कुरो छ, वर्तमानमा उनले बनाएर गएको नियम, सूचनाको उल्लंघन भइरहेको छ ।

यसप्रकार समग्रमा सुवर्णद्वार मल्लकालीन राजकीय मर्यादा, शासन-प्रशासन, शाक्त तान्त्रिक धर्म (मिश्रित) संस्कृतिको प्रतीकको रूपमा रहेको उत्कृष्ट कृति हो ।

परिशिष्ट १ संख्याको अभिलेख[१९]

(स्वस्ति श्री ३
महामञ्जुश्री प्रीतिन)
श्रीश्रीजयरणजितमल्ल
देव (स) सूवर्ण
द्वारादि पोललं (गजुलि) दयका
वेलस लयपतिकं दशमी सेवा
याडा (व) श्री ३ महा-मञ्जुश्री
विश्वकर्मायात हेलेफो
दयका (जुरो सं. ...
८७४ ... शुभ)

परिशिष्ट २ संख्याको अभिलेख[२०]

१. स्वस्ति श्री ३
२ महामञ्जुश्री प्रीतिन
३. श्रीश्रीजयरणजितमल्ल-
४. देवस नेपाल ध्वाकाया सूवर्ण-

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१९) **पासुका** वर्ष २, अंक १ को पृ. ४ मा यो अभिलेख प्रकाशित छ; तर मूलपाठ शुद्ध पढिएको छ जस्तो छैन भन्ने शंका यो लेखकलाई छ । यसकारण कोष्ठ भित्रका अंश तुलनात्मक रूपमा परिशिष्ट २ संख्याको अभिलेखबाट लिइएको छ । यस "हेलेफो"मा कुँदिएको अभिलेख लेखकले देख्न, पढ्न पाएको छैन । मूल आधार पृ. ४ मा प्रकाशित अभिलेख नै हो ।

२०) यस "हेलफो"को अग्रभागमा कलात्मक बुट्टा कुँदिएको छ । पृष्ठभागमा १० पंक्तिको यो अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ । अभिलेखको शीर्षकमा "खड्ग" छाप छ । लेखकको संग्रहमा सुरक्षित यसको प्रतिलिपि "निवा" परिवारका श्री तेजरत्न शाक्यज्यूबाट प्राप्त भएको हो । यो अभिलेख यस अघि प्रकाशमा आएको छैन ।

५. द्वारादि पोलल गजुलि दयका
६. वेलस लयपतिकं पूजा याङाव
७. सुमाकर करूणाकर रतिकर
८. स्वम्हसेन दुता सं
९. ८७४ कार्तिक
१०. १० शुभ

परिशिष्ट ३ संख्याका अभिलेखहरू[२१]

क. सुवर्णद्वारको दायाँपट्टिको भित्ताको अभिलेख मूलपाठ

१. श्री ३ जगदीश्वर्यै नमः ॥ ब्रम्ह
२. श्रीनाथ रूद्र प्रभृति शूरवरैः से-
३. व्यमानाम् घृयुग्माम् दैभ्योघ ध्वान्त भानू-
४. पमतनू किरणै पूर्यमान् त्रिलोका-
५. सृष्टि स्थित्यन्त कत्रीं त्रिभुवन जन-
६. ताभक्त रक्षैक चित्ताम, बौमिडयाम् विश्व
७. वंदयां गिरिवर तनयां स्वर्गमोक्षैक
८. दात्रीं ॥ ॥ संयाते श्रुतिवाह वारण मि-
९. ते नेपाल संवतसरे, पौषेम चकप-
१०. क्ष नक्रगर वौवारे तथा भाष्करे । मू
११. लक्षें गरुडासनस्य च तिथौ व्याघात
१२. योगेमूदा, स्वेष्टेश्री परितुष्टये स-
१३. मकरौ द्वारप्रतिष्ठां शुभां ॥ कृत्वा ख-
१४. ङ्ग वरच्छदिः सकलसं रात्तोरण
१५. कांचन, सच्छत्र परितोष्य विप्र-
१६. निचया न यज्ञं च कोट्याहुति ॥ भा
१७. स्व द्वंशवरो नृपौघ महितो जि-
१८. त्वा परेषां महीं श्रीश्रीमद्रणजिन्नृ-
१९. पः शुभमपतिः स्वष्टेश्वरीसेवकः ।

ख. सुवर्णद्वारको बायाँपट्टिको भित्ताको अभिलेख मूलपाठ

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमत्यशुपतिचरण
२. कमल धुलिधुसरित शिरोरूह श्री
३. मन्मानेश्वरीष्ट देवता वरलब्ध प्र-
४. सादित रघुवंशावतार देदिप्यमान
५. मानोन्नत नेपाल भूमण्डलाखण्डल महा-
६. राजाधिराज श्रीश्री जय राणजितमल्ल दे-
७. व पत्नी जयलक्ष्मी सहितन ॥ श्री ३ स्वष्टे दे-
८. वता प्रीतिन कोट्याहुति यज्ञ याङा व ना
९. लदूम पूर्व, दूधकोशी पश्चिम, दोलषा
१०. सहित राज्य याङा व थ्व पालध्वाकास
११. सुवर्णद्वार, तोरण पोलल, गजुल
१२. छाया व दुता ॥ पुन भाषा, देश जो-
१३. शि नेम्ह, तालचामोल दकोसेन,
१४. थ्व सुवर्णद्वारादि विचाल याय-
१५. माल, यातसा पुण्य, मयातसा पा-
१६. प ॥ सं. ८७४ पौ. व ६ कोट्याहुति य-
१७. ज्ञ, आरम्भ याङा दिन ॥ शुभ ॥ ल-
१८. काम, कासाल दुता यने मदुः ॥

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२१) यी अभिलेखका पाठहरू म र श्री विनोदराज राजोपाध्याय मिली पढिएको हो ।

उग्रतारा मन्दिरको संक्षिप्त ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि

- सरला मानन्धर

श्री उग्रतारा मन्दिर न्ह्याकंतला टोल का.म.न.पा. वडा नं. २७ मा अवस्थित रहेको छ।

यस उग्रतारा देवीलाई स्थानीय बासिन्दाहरूले न्ह्याकंताला अजिमा पनि भन्दछन्। यस मन्दिरको उत्तर पट्टि रहेको काठको कलात्मक टुँडाल (दायाँ पट्टि) मा पनि यस देवीलाई "न्ह्याकंतारादेवी" भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ। जुन यसप्रकार रहेको छ - सम्वत ८०४ माघ कृष्ण त्रयोदश प्र. चतुर्दस्या तिर्थो श्रवण नक्षत्र वरि यान योग शुक्रबारे थ्रव महा पर्व दिन कुन्हु न्ह्याकंतरा यात दोहोरपा कुनु देव भारो प्रमुख यस अभिलेख अनुसार संवत् ८०४ मा यस देवीको देवभारो भन्ने दाताले मन्दिर बनाएको बुझिन्छ। पूर्व पट्टि रहेको काठको कलात्मक टुँडालमा पनि अभिलेख कुँदिएको छ। जुन यसप्रकार रहेको छ - श्री ३ न्हयकंतारा देव दाङा विरपति ४ देवनरि या पुत्र गंगाराम भारो न स्वहस्त दुत्ता सं ८७८ पौख वदि १४।

यस अभिलेखमा श्री ३ न्ह्याकंतारालाई देवनरी र गंगाराम भारो भन्ने व्यक्तिहरूले आफ्नो हातले सं. ८७८ मा विर पति ४ (टुँडाल) ४ वटा चढाइएको उल्लेख गरिएको बुझिन्छ।

यस उग्रतारा मन्दिरको अगाडि रहेको घण्टामा लेखिएको अभिलेखमा सम्वत् ९९७ मिति आषाढ कृष्ण ९ रोज ३ का दिनमा न्ह्याकंटोलका दतु छेंय (घर) निवासीले श्री न्ह्यकंतारा देवीलाई घण्टा चढाएको उल्लेख पाइन्छ।

मन्दिरको ढोकाको तोरणमा लेखिएको अभिलेख यस प्रकार रहेको छ-

१) श्री महाता ताराय नमः॥ खाश्व ग्रह चन्द्र युक्त वर्षव मार्ग शुक्लपक्ष नपम्या विष्यस्तु जोगमान भिसंज्ञक ॥ तद्यार्या ज्ञानिलक्ष्मी च चिढि भाजुस्तुत

२) त्सुतः ॥ भाय्र्या हरिलक्ष्म्या चै सहपित्रौ विंमुक्तये ॥ स्वर्गालिप्त ताम्रमयं प्रासादद्वार तोरणं॥ समर्पित श्री तारिरायाः सालोक्य प्राप्तये सदा। अथ देशभाषा

३) सम्वत् १९७० साल मार्गशिर शुक्ल ९ रोज १

उग्रतारा मन्दिर, न्हैकन्तला

थ्रव कुन्हु श्री उग्रतार देवीया न्ह्याकंताला या
दाति भाजु मुल्मि तत् भाय्या हरिलक्ष्मी प्रमुखन
लुंया तोर
४) ण लीयागु लुखाअर्प्पण याना जुल ॥ शुभम् ॥

यस अभिलेख अनुसार १९७० साल मार्ग शुक्ल ९ रोज १ का दिनमा श्री उग्रतारा देवीलाई न्ह्याकंटोलका दाता भाजु मुल्मि तथा उनका पत्नी हरिलक्ष्मीले सुनको तोरण र पित्तलको ढोका अर्पण गरी चढाएको बुझिन्छ । यी विभिन्न अभिलेखहरूबाट यस देवीका मन्दिरमा विभिन्न समयमा चढाइएका वस्तुहरू उल्लेख गरिएको पाइएबाट मन्दिरको महत्त्व मल्लकालदेखि नै रहेको बुझिन आउँछ ।

यस मन्दिरको निर्माणको बारेमा थाहा पाउन हाल त्यहाँ कुनै शिलापत्र तथा तामापत्र भेटिदैन । स्थानीय व्यक्तिहरूका अनुसार यस मन्दिर सम्बन्धी एउटा शिलापत्र अगाडि रहेको भजन घरभित्र रहेकोमा हाल चोरी भइसकेको छ ।

देवमाला वंशावलीमा उल्लेख गरिए अनुसार सूर्यवंशी राजा श्री गुणकामदेवलाई श्री महालक्ष्मीबाट स्वप्न भए बमोजिम कलिगत ३८२५ मा कान्तिपुर शहर बसाइसकेपछि देश रक्षाको निमित्त तान्त्रिक विधिपूर्वक यी परमेश्वरीको आव्हान गरी स्थापना गरेका हुन् । पछि कुनै एक व्यक्तिको आँखाको रोग लाग्दा कुनै पनि औषधिले निको नहुँदा कोही एक भक्तजनले ती परमेश्वरीलाई ऐना चढाउनु र निको हुन्छ भन्दा अति श्रद्धा गरी ऐना चढाई पूजा गर्दा आँखाको रोग निको भयो । त्यस बेलादेखि "न्ह्यांकतला द्यो" भनी नाम प्रख्यात गरी ऐना टाँग्ने चलन भयो । विक्रम संवत् १९९० सालको महा भूकम्पमा यो मन्दिर केही भएको थिएन ।

सुपरिचय सुधार कार्य विवरण (सम्पादक र प्रकाशक सोमनाथ सिग्द्याल) नामक २०१७ सालको पुस्तकको विवरण यस प्रकार रहेको छ –

यो मन्दिर राजधानीको प्रसिद्ध असन टोलबाट केही पश्चिमतिर जाँदा आउने नजिकको न्ह्याकंतला टोलमा पर्दछ । यसको निर्माण कलिगत सम्वत् ३८२५ मा देश रक्षाको निमित्त राजा गुणकामदेवले तन्त्रोक्त विधिले सम्पन्न गरी आव्हान पूर्वक मन्दिरको साथै देवीको प्राण प्रतिष्ठा गरी राखेका हुन् । यहाँ आँखाको रोग लागेमा र कुनै प्रकारले निको हुन नसकेमा यो देव मन्दिरमा ऐना (दर्पण) समर्पण गरे चाँडै नै निको हुन्छ भन्ने जनविश्वास छ । त्यसको आधारमा रोगीहरूले चढाएका ऐनाहरूले उक्त मन्दिर सुशोभित भइरहेको छ । यसैलाई स्थानीय जनताहरूको अनुरोधमा नेपाल नरेशका सरकारले दिएको अर्थ सहयोगले उपरितन चित्रमा प्रदर्शित रूपमा आवश्यक स्थानको मर्मत सुधार आदि सम्पन्न गर्ने कार्य भएको छ । यसै प्रसङ्गमा बूढापाकाहरूको मुखबाट सुन्नमा आएको विवरण उपरोक्त कथनभन्दा केही फरक छ । उनीहरूको भनाई अनुसार गुणकामदेवको रानीलाई आँखाको रोग लाग्दा अनेकौं किसिमबाट उपचार गर्दा पनि निको हुन सकेन । पछि एक जना ज्योतिषीको राय सल्लाह बमोजिम उग्रतारा देवीलाई ऐना चढाई पूजा गर्दा आँखाको रोग निको भयो । यसै खुशियालीमा राजा गुणकामदेवले देवीको मन्दिरलाई तीन तलाको छाना हाली बनाउन लगाउनुका साथै मन्दिर अगाडि सत्तल समेत बनाउन लगाए ।

उपरोक्त जनश्रुति अनुसार, सो मन्दिरमा गुणकामदेवले देवीको प्राण प्रतिष्ठा गराएको भन्ने कुरा अमिल्दो देखियो । यस देवलभित्र गएर हेर्‍यौं भने त्यहाँ

एक सानो मन्दिरको आकार अहिले पनि देख्न सकिन्छ ।

कसै कसैको भनाइ अनुसार, साँखुको बज्रयोगिनीलाई उस बेलाका तान्त्रिक साधकहरूले कान्तिपुर देशमा ल्याएका हुन् भन्ने छ । यस्ता अनेकौं कथनहरू बोकी यो देवी स्थानीय जनताको सुख, दुःखको साक्षी र संरक्षकका रूपमा आफ्ना दायाँ बायाँ रहेका देवी देवताहरूको साथमा विराजमान भएका छन् भन्ने जनमानसमा विश्वास रहेको छ ।

यस उग्रतारा मन्दिरको उत्तरतर्फ एक डबली र माथि उल्लेखित दुई तल्ले सत्तल पनि अद्यावधि छ, जुन दयनीय अवस्थामा रहेको छ। सत्तलको भुईतल्लामा देवीको जात्रा गरी बाहिर घुमाउन लाने बेलाको खट र बाँसहरू राखिएका छन् । देवीको ताम्र प्रतिमूर्ति राख्ने घर "द्यो छें" मन्दिरको अघिल्तिरको त्यौड जाने गल्लीमा भएकोमा करीब ६० वर्ष अगाडि यस देवघरलाई एक व्यक्तिले आफ्नो निजी गराई लिएका थिए भन्ने स्थनीय बासिन्दाहरूको भनाइ रहेको छ । तापनि देवीको ताम्र प्रतिमूर्ति सहित गहनाहरू सोही घरमा राख्ने गरिएको थियो । हाल केही वर्ष यता सो घर परिवारमध्येका एक जना लागू पदार्थ सेवन गर्ने कुलतमा लागेको कारण जनाई घरका मुलीले सुरक्षाको लागि सो मूर्तिलाई पुरातत्त्व विभागमा बुझाई दिएको हुँदा हरेक वर्ष सो टोलका कोही न कोही व्यक्तिले जिम्मा लिई मूर्तिहरू ल्याई जात्राको काम चलाउने र जात्रा सकिएपछि फेरि पुरातत्त्व विभागलाई नै सुम्पिदिने क्रम चलेको ५/७ वर्ष भएको बुझिन आएको छ ।

यस उग्रतारा सम्बन्धी पूजा आजा र जात्रा पर्वको बारेमा स्थानीय श्री पुष्पलाल राजभण्डारीज्यू र श्री हरि ओमपति राजोपाध्यायज्यूबाट जानकारी प्राप्त भएको छ । जुन यस प्रकार रहेका छन् - हरेक साल चैत्र कृष्ण चतुर्दशीका दिनदेखि प्रतिपदासम्म काठमाडौंका अन्य टोलहरूमा चलाइने देवी देवताहरूको जात्रा जस्तै यस टोलमा पनि शैव तथा बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी मानिसहरूले निकै उत्साह र उमङ्गले बाजा बजाई श्रद्धा र भक्तिका साथ पूजा गरी जात्रा समेत चलाउने गरी आएका छन् ।

घोडा जात्राका दिन मन्दिर अघिल्तिरको डबलीमा सुकुल ओछ्याई स्थानीय ज्यापूहरूको गुठीबाट पकाइएको भात पकवानका रूपमा "मल जा" कन्या भोज बाँडिन्छ। कुनै पनि रोगबाट बचाउनका लागि आ-आफ्नो बच्चा नानीहरूलाई च्यापेर घरैपिच्छेका आमा दिदी फुपूहरू लाम कसेर बसी बच्चाहरूलाई ख्वाउँदछन्। आद्या शक्ति "अजिमा" को अगिल्तिर बसेर उनको आराधना गरी बाँडिएको प्रसाद खान बस्दा जातिभेद, लिङ्गभेद, छुवाछुत वा उचनीच वर्ग इत्यादिको कुनै हिसाब हुँदैन । देवीको अघिल्तिर जो कोही पनि एकनास बराबर मानिन्छ ।

बेलुकी पख साँझ परेपछि देवी देवताहरूको ताम्रमूर्तिलाई खटमा राखी जात्रा गरिन्छ । टोल छिमेकका नवयुवक वृद्ध सबैले खटलाई काँधमा बोकी घर दैलो पिच्छे पूजा थाप्न लगिन्छ। जुन घर परिवारबाट पूजा दिइने हो उसका दैलोमा लिपेर एक सानो सुकुल ओछ्याई राखिन्छ । पूजाको लागि निम्त्याइएको यो संकेत अनुसार मानिसको काँधै काँधमा बोकेर ल्याइएको खटलाई केही छिनको निमित्त भुईंमा अडचाइन्छ । पूजाको क्रममा बोका, हाँस, कुखुरा पनि चढाइन्छ । त्यसैबेला न्ह्याकंतला "अजिमा" को नामबाट चलाइराखेको मुर्दा गुठीबाट दरबार प्राङ्गणमा चिराक बालेर गुठीयारहरू खट जात्राको शोभा बढाउँदै पछि

लाग्छन् र स्थानीय कुसलेहरू पञ्चेबाजा बजाएर साथ दिन्छन्। त्यस बेलुकी नजिकका ठाउँहरूमा मात्र खट जात्रा घुमाइन्छ। प्रायः सोही टोलका छोरीबेटीहरूको घर दैलामा लगिन्छ। अन्य परिवारमा विवाह भई सक्दा पनि आफू केटाकेटी छँदाका माइतघरमा आराध्य देवी अजिमालाई खटयात्रा गर्दै आफ्ना घर दैलासम्म ल्याएको खुशियालीमा बडो उमङ्गका साथ पूजा गर्दछन् र खट बोकी ल्याएका मानिसहरूलाई पनि सम्हे बजि र जाँड रक्सी राखी तुच्चा गराउँदछन्।

त्यसको भोलिपल्ट प्रतिपदाको बिहान १० बजेदेखि नै शहरभरि खटजात्रा गर्दै बाजा सहित घुमाउन लगिन्छ। त्यस दिन पनि ठाउँ ठाउँमा पूजा थाप्दै जात्रा चलाइन्छ। यसै क्रममा उसबेलाको राजदरबार "लायकू" वा हनुमान् ढोकामा पुग्दा एक हाँस सहितको सरकारी पूजा चढाइन्छ। बेलुका सो जात्रा बिसर्जन गरिन्छ।

यिनै देवीको पूजा गर्ने गरी पौष कृष्ण पक्ष चतुर्दशीका दिन राजभण्डारीहरू थकाली रहेको एक मुर्दा गुठी अद्यावधि चलिरहेको छ। झण्डै ६० जवान गुठीयारहरू रहेको त्यस गुठीका दिन राँगोको बलि दिएर सम्हे भोज मनाइन्छ।

डबलीका बायाँतर्फको सत्तलमा टोलका श्रद्धालुहरू बेलुकी भजन गर्दछन्। न्ह्याकंतला भजन मण्डल नामक एक संगठन बनाई उक्त भजन चलाई राख्नु समर्थ भएकोमा त्यस भजन मण्डलका सदस्यहरू धन्यवादका पात्र छन्।

प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाको समयको नेपाल-भोट युद्धको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री

<u>षाम भित्रका पुर्जिको नक्कल</u>

उप्रान्त हामीले गोला हालि सक्न्या वित्तिकै सेतो झंडा घुमाई चिठी ली तल षोलामा गाडी फर्कि किल्लै भित्र गयो . हाम्रो मानिस पठाई ल्याइ राख्याको छ . दोभास्या नहुनाले मुद्दा केही वुझ्याको छैन . दोभास्या आयापछि मुद्दा वुझी विंति चऱ्हाइ पठाउला शुभ्म् ------- तस्तै वषत्मा ल्हासाका दुंतारिन् अम्वावाट श्री ५ गोर्षा सरकारलाई लेषी आयाको उप्रान्त फागुण मैन्हाका १९ दीनमा अर्जि र चिठी सान्र्या वषत्मा र फेरिन्दीनमा हामी ताठीन्वाट टिगरीमा षटाई पठायाका चिनीत्रा भारादार भोटचा भारदारले हामीलाई लेषी पठायाका चिठी आइपुग्यो . आफू वाङवाट षटाई पठायाका पगरि रामसुन्दरले ल्यायाको अर्जि र चिठी त्राहा आइ पुग्नी वित्तिकै रीत वमोजिम सारी हेर्दा वेहोरा सवै मालुम भयो . वारम्वार आफूवाट पठायाका चिठीको वृतान्त वुझि आफू वाङ्लाई चिठी लेषी पठायाको हो . श्री ५ वादशाहलाई पनी अर्जि चऱ्हाई पठायाको छ . सोझवुझ गर भनी एकपट्टी भारदार षटाई पठाञ्यूं आफु वाङवाट चढाई गर्न पठायाका फौजलाई फकाई झिकाउनु काम नछिन्यासम्म पर्षिरहनु . अघिदेषी आफु वाङले आकाश समान श्री ५ वादसाहका शरण पिछा परिरहचाका छौं भोट पनी यकै घरको मानिस हो फरक छैन झगरा गर्नु पऱ्यादेषी हामी ताठीन्वाट रीत वमोजिम भारदार षठाई साचो कुरा ठहराई सोझवुझ गरि छिनिदिनु पर्छ भनी पठायाका छन् . जस्तो गरि अघिदेषि दुइतिरको मिलाप थियो तस्तै गरि मिलीरहचा दुईतिरलाई फल हुन्या छ . आज आफु वाङको राज्येमा भोटले विजाइ गऱ्यो भन्याको मात्रै अर्जि चऱ्हाई पठाया छौं . भोटले पनी तेस्तै वेहोराको अर्जि चऱ्हायो भन्या हामी ताठीन्वाट जस्ताको तस्तो निसाफ गरिछिनी दिदा हुँ आफुवाङलाई हामी ताठीन्ले धेरैपल्ट चिठी पठाञ्यु र येस वेहोरासंग काम गरौला भन्या कुरो केही आयेन अकस्मात पाँच दिसावाट फौज चढाई गर्न पठाञ्युं भन्याका र दोसाधदेषी वढन्या छैनन् . भोटवाट करवर रूपैया दिया घा गरौला उसै माफिकको जगा दिया पनी घा गरौला भन्याको र टिगरिमा वस्याका चिनीत्रा सिपाही फरक गर्नु भनी पठायाको अर्थ साऱ्है मनोग्य गर्दा रहचाछौं . हाम्रा आकाश समान श्री ५ वादसाह अघीदेषी गादिमा

राज गर्नु हुदा लाष लाष करवरको पनी माया छैन पुर्वतार्चन्दो देषी येता पश्चीम ल्हासा डिगर्चा ज्याची टिगरि सवै जगामा कुन्हन राख्याका भारादार सिपाही श्री ५ वादसाहवाट हुकुम भै तैले ल्हासामा कामकाज गर्नु वुद्धसास्त्रको र जगा जगामा आया गयाका चिठीपत्रको सहि संभार गर्नु भनी हुकुम पाई आयाको हुं . भोटको जिमी पनी श्री ५ वादसाहको अम्वल हो . आफुवाङ वाहीरी मुलुकका राजा भया पनी मिची आउनु हुदैन . आज आफूले लेख्याका सव वेहोराको निसाफ गरि घा मिलाउनु भनी हामी ताठीन्वाट भारदार षटाई पठायाका छन् . आफुवाडले दस्तुर नमानी मनोग्य गरि सिमाना देषी फौज वढन्या छैन . चादि दिया पनी जिमी दिया पनी घा मिल्ला नतर मान्या छौन भनी कर लगाई आसा गरी रहचाका छौ . त्यो तक्रार भोट्सित गर्याको होइन श्री ५ वादसाहलाई नमान्याको हो . श्री ५ वादसाहको वाटुलो ठूलो फेरो छ लाषसय कोसमा ज्यादा होला जिमीको थाहा छैन सांध सिमानामा जो भयाका भारादार सिपाही र आयागयाका चिठी पत्रको सही सम्भार गर्नु भनी कुरन राख्या हुन् . टिगरि ज्याची डिगर्चाका भारादार सिपाहीले कुन्ही रहचाको धेरै वर्ष भयो . मानिसको हिसाव गर्दा थोरै छन् भन्या पनी ठूलो साध हो . तेस्ता तरहले आउनु हुदैन भारादार सिपाहीहरू फराक भैरहनु भनी आफुवाङवाट चिठी लेषी आउंदा हामी ताठीन्ले श्री ५ वादसाहको जिमी उसै दिन सकौला क्या त्यो कुरा दस्तुरमा पनी मिल्दैन . आफुवाङका अर्जिमा लेख्याको वेहोरा पैल्हे भोटले विजाई विद्दत गर्यो भन्याको र हामी ताठीन्लाई लेषी आयाको चिठीमा तेसै वेहोराको चिठी लेषी श्री ५ वादसाहका हजुरमा चन्हाई पठाय्युं . फेरि फेरि यस्ता वेहोराको विंति नगर्नु अर्जिका पुछारमा लेख्याको वेहोरा अजोग्य लेख्याको रहेछ . जस्तो तस्तो वेहोरा चन्हाउनु ता हुन्या होइन आफुवाडले भाव गरि चन्हाई पठायाका हुनाले पर्माना आवला भनी वाटो हेरी रहन हुन्याछ . तसर्थ रीत दस्तुरमा नमिल्या त पनी चन्हाई पठायाको छ . आफुवाडले चन्हाई पठायाका अर्जिमा विंति गर्नु नहुन्या कुरा हुनाले हामी ताठीन्ले अगावै देही षोली पठायाको छ . छचाडलुङ श्री ५ वादसाहको पालामा आफूवाडका राज्येवाट विना कामै भोट ल्हासाका साधमा ढेरैपल्ट हुलमुल गर्‍यो र श्री ५ वादसाह क्रोढ हुनु भयो र ठूलो च्यान्चुन र सिंपाही षटाई लडाञी गर्न पठाउनु भयो . आफु वाङ्का सिपाही हटिगया आफुले गर्‍याको कारं हुनाले श्री ५ वादसाहवाट ठूलो फौज आयाको हो सिपाही र सिपाहीको जागीर चादि चीन सहरवाट आयाको हो . भोटचासंग सापट माग्याको होइन . श्री ५ वादसाहवाट भोटसंग मद्दत गर्न क्यान पर्‍यो . आज भोटले आफुवाडका राज्येमा फौज चढाई गर्न पठायाको छैन १।२ जना मुर्ष हुनाले आफुका अम्वल्का पर्जासंग थोरै नमिलींदा विचार गरिछिन्न सकिन्या काममा आफुवाडले निहु गरि मनोग्यसंग सिपाही चढाई गरि क्यान पठायाको हो . श्री ५ वादसाहवाट वल वक्सनु र चादि वक्सनु भन्याको अर्थ मन्सुवाता गर्‍याको रहैछ तर दस्तुरमा नभयाको साच्है मन्सुवा गर्दा रहचाछौं . आफुवाङ अर्जिमा लेख्याको वेहोरा अघि परापुर्वदेषी तिमीलाई दुष पर्‍यादेषी ल्हासा अम्वामार्फत् विंति चन्हाइ पठाउनु भंन्या हुकुम मात्रै भयाको हो . तसर्थ श्री ५ वादसाहवाट हुकुम भै ल्हासा वस्न्या ताठीन मार्फत चन्हायाको रहेछ . हुकुम् नआउंज्याल काम नछिननज्याल सम्म पर्षनु पर्छ . मनमा चिताई हुकुम नभै अघिसरि सिपाही चढाई पठाउ भंन्या हुकुम् छ की आफु वाङका पुर्षाका पाला देषी वहुतै

गरि श्री ५ वादसाहका हुकुम्लाई मानीरहचाको हौ आज आफु वाङले यस्ता डवल गऱ्यो अघि अघिका श्री ५ वादसाहको मेहेर र आफना पुर्षा धर्म सम्झनु पर्दैन . क्या ञाहा पठाइ दियाको अर्जि हामी मार्फत चाडै चऱ्हाई पठाई दिउँला जो हुकुम् भै आउला तेस्को उत्तरा सर्वथा गरि आफू वाङलाई लेषी पठाउँला यो चिठी ताहा पुगऱ्या वित्तिकै चढाइ गर्न पठायाका सिपाहीलाई चाडो फिकार्उनु श्री ५ वादसाहवाट हुकुम नआउँज्याल मानी काम गर्नु पर्छ . हामी ताठीन्ले दियाको अर्ति सिक्षा चित्तमा राषी मानी काम गरिरहचा आफूवाङ र मंत्रिपर्जा प्राणि सवैलाई ठुलो फल हुन्या छ . सवै मोही भया जस्तो गरि भोटलाई मनोग्य गरि कर लगाञा भोटले सहिरहला क्या भोटले सहचा पनी हिमायत गऱ्यापछि श्री ५ वादसाहवाट सहन हुन्या छैन . ठिक्क ठिक्क गरी यो चिठीमा निरहनु पर्छ . श्री हाङफोन ५ साल हाम्रा २ महिनाका १५ दीन जादा भोट ल्हासा यामन् शुभ्म्--

वैसाष शुदी १५ रोज ३ मा

ल्हासाका टुंतारिन अम्वालाई श्री ५ गोर्षा सर्कारवाट जवाव लेषी गयाको उप्रान्त आफूवाङवाट षटाइ पठायाका पगरी रामसुन्दरले ल्यायाका अर्जि र चिठी वारंवार आफुवाट पठायाका सवै चिट्ठी आइपुग्या हामी ताठीन्ले वृन्तान्त वुझी आफूवाङलाई चिठी लेषी पठायाको हो . श्री ५ वादसाहलाई पनी अर्जि चऱ्हाई पठायाको छ सोझवुझ गर भनी येकपट्टी भारादार षटाई पठाऱ्युँ आफुवाङ चढाई गर्न पठायाका फौजलाई फर्काउनु काम नछिनंजीसम्म पर्षीरहनु भन्या विस्तारको आफुहरूवाट पत्र लेषी आयाको सवै विस्तार मालुम भयो श्री ५ वादसाहको ठूलो फेरा छ . लाषसयेका सम्म ज्यादा होला जमीनको थाहा छैन भन्या विस्तार लेषनु भयाका षुरालाई वढीया लेषी आयेछ . हामीले श्री ५ वादसाहको मुलुक सानु देख्याको छैन . हाम्रा हिसापमा उद्याचल देषी अस्ताचलसम्म आकाश समान श्री ५ वादसाहको मुलुक वहुतै छ . सूर्य समान तेज प्रताप भयाका देषी शरण पिछा परि मानी आयाका हो अवप्रान्त पनी मान्यै छौं . अघी गोर्षाले भोटमाथी अर्ध्याली गर्दा श्री ५ वादसाहवाट रिसानी भै गोर्षाका फौजलाई सजाये गरि छचाङलुङ ५७ सालमा आफ्ना मुलुकमा फिराई वक्सनु भयाको थियो . हाम्रो अर्ध्याली हो भनी चित्त वुझी भोटवाट अर्ध्याली गऱ्याका वषत्मा श्री ५ वादसाहका हजुरमा विंति गरिसजाया गरौला भंन्या कुरा मनमाली श्री ५ वादसाहको टहल गरी चुपलागी रहचाका थिञ्युं . आज भोटले अघी पनी श्री वादसाहवाट हाम्रो पक्ष गरि गोर्षालाई निकाली दियाको हो अहिले हामीले गोर्षालाई थिचोमिचो गऱ्या पनी श्री ५ वादसाहवाट हाम्रा पक्ष भै गोर्षालाई सजाये गर्नु हुन्याछ भंन्या भोटले आफना मनमा चिताई गोर्षामाथि थिचोमिचो गर्दा श्री ५ वादसाहवाट अर्ध्याली गऱ्याका कुराको निसाफ हुन्यैछ भनी भोटले अर्ध्याली गऱ्याको सहन नसकी भोटसंग लड्न निमित्त फौज पठायाको हो . आज फौजलाई फिराई लैजानु भन्या कुरा आफुहरूवाट लेषी आउँदा जस्तो भोटले चितायाको थियो उस्तै भयो भंन्या हाम्रा चित्तमा लाग्यो भोट्मा उसै चढाई गऱ्याको होइन भोटले हामीमाथी साऱ्है अर्ध्याली गर्दा भोट माथी चढाई गऱ्याको हो श्री ५ वादसाहवाट गोर्षामाथी भोटले अर्ध्याली गर्दा चढाई गर्न फौज पठायाका छौ वढीया हो भनी मेहेर करूणा रहचो भन्या अघिदेषी भोटले मानी आयाभन्दा दुइ गुणा वढता गरि श्री ५ वादसाहलाई मानी तहल गर्न तयार छौं अघि गोर्षाले भोटमाथी भोटले अर्ध्याली गर्दा पनी गोर्षालाई सजाये गऱ्याको हो अहिले गोर्षालीमाथी भोटले अर्ध्याली गऱ्यामा पनी गोर्षालाई

सजाये हुंछ भनी श्री ५ वादसाहवाट हुकुम हुंछ भन्या हाम्रा क्या लाग्न्या छ श्री ५ वादसाहको रिसानी हुकुम सिरउपर छ शुभ्म् ----------

ज्येष्ठवदी १ रोज ५ मा

तस्तै विचमा श्री जनरल धीरसम्सेर जङ्ग कुवर राणाजीवाट सेठाकाजीके जुवाफ लेषी गयाको उप्रान्त नत्रा आयाका हचेतारिन् अम्वा र अघीका टुंन्तारिन अंवा २ वाट हुकुमको चिठी मोहरमा गोर्षा र भोट २ का काम निमित्त दुवै अम्वाका साथ टिगरिमा वस्न्या टुनतालोये टिगरिवाट रमाना भै केरूङमा जानु भयो अघी सिंभुका लामा र टाँसि लिम्वुलामा षजांची झुगा पुगन्या वषतमा गौडा कुन्हर्ना भोटका लस्करसंग अलिक लडाञी भयाको रहेछ यसपटक टुनतालोये केरूंमा जानु भयाको वेला छ . अैल्है कुतीमा दुवैतर्फवाट लडाञी भयो भन्या सल्टनका काम कठीन पर्ला भन्ना निमित्त मेरा चित्तमा निश्चय गरि यो चिठी लेख्याको हो टुन्तालोयेवाट सलतन त हुन्या नहुन्या येक कुराको ठेकोना नहुंज्यालसम्म कुती तरफमा तपाइले फौज वढाई षलवल नगर्नु होला हाम्रातर्फवाट पनी षलवल नगर्नु भनी उर्दि दी पठायाको छ भनी लेषानुं भयाका अर्थ वढीया लेषी आयेछ दुवैतिरवाट घावन्दोवस्त भै मिलाप भयो भन्या दुवैतिरका फौज वाचन्या दुनिलाई सुष हुन्या घावन्दोवस्त भयो भन्या म वहुत षुसि छुं तर लडाञी गर्न्या र थामन्या मेरो अषतियार छैन श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर र दाज्यैज्यूवाट जस्तो हुकुम आउँछ उसै माफिक मैले काम गर्नुपर्छ आज १५।२० दिन भयो . वैसाषका १५ दिन जादासम्म कुतिदेषी नवढनु वैसाषका १५ दिन नाघया पछि कुतीदेषी लंगुर सम्ममा भोटवाट लड्न आयेनन् भन्या पनी त्यो मुलुक फत्य गरि लिनु भन्या हुकुम आयाको छ तापनी हिउँ पऱ्याको हुनाले श्री प्राइम मिनिष्टर दाज्यैज्यूका हजुरमा वैसाषका दिन २९ जादा मथामुला ताहासम्ममा घावन्दोवस्त भयो भंन्या चिठी श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर दाज्यैज्युवाट आयेन भन्या हुकुम वमोजिम लंगुरसम्म फौज वढाई लडाञी गर्न्या छु . वैसाषका १९ दिन जाँदा देषी पुढो नेपालमा साधसोध गरी लडाञी थामनापछी लाग्या मलाई तक्सीर लागन्या छ लडाञी थामन म सकन्या छैन लडाञी थामनु र लडाञी गर्नाको अषतियार गोर्षा तरफका श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर दाज्यैज्युको छ भोट तिरका अषतियार तपाइको छ श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर दाज्यैज्यु पनी भारि फौज ली केरुं तरफ जानु भै दुइ जना वसी घागर्नु भया भन्या गोर्षा र भोट दुवैतर्फका फौज रैतिले सुष पाउँन्या छन् . श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर दाज्यैज्युको र तपाईंको घावन्दोवस्तका कुरा मिलेन भन्या दुवै तिरका फौज रैयतलाई वडो कस्त भयो भनी जान्नुहोला अव अधिका जस्तो लडाञी हुन्या छैन ठूला लडाञी हुन्याछ . सो वुझ्नु होला घावन्दोवस्त गर्नालाई साना दर्जाका मानीस आइ श्री प्राइम् मिनिष्टर दाज्यैज्यूका चित्त वुझ्काई घागर्न सकन्या छैन नेपालका सवैभन्दा ठूला दर्जाका श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर र दाज्यैज्यू वाट केरुं गयापछि भोटका पनी ठूलो आतकात् गर्न सकन्या मानिस तपाई हुनुहुंछ तपाइ जानु भै वन्दोवस्त गर्नु भया वढीया होला वीचघा गर्न आउँन्या मानिसलाई दगा होला भनी संदेह नमान्नु होला घामा मेलन भया पनी जनाउ दी लडन हुन्याछ दगागरि लडन हुन्या छैन जति चाडो घा गर्नु होला उति दुवै तिरका फौजको पनी जीउवाचला घाहुनामा ढील हुनगया भन्या गोर्षाको फौज वढीकन् जाहासमम पुग्ला वाहासम्म टेक्याको जमीन छोड्नु हुन्या छैन मेरा वुद्धिले देषी धर्म चित्तले लेख्याको हो तपाईका चित्तमा जस्तो आउँछ आफुलाई वढीया हुन्या तपाइका वुद्धिले देषनु भयाको काम गर्नु

हुन्यैछ . लडाञी गर्न्या भन्याको गोर्षाको निमक र भोटको निमक हो शुभ्म् ----------

जेष्ठवदी १ रोज ५ मा

श्री जनरल धीरसम्सेर कुवर राणाजीवाट सुनागुम्वामा रही लडाञी गर्न आउँन्या फौजका मालीक के लेषी गयाको उप्रान्त वैसाषका १५ दिनजादासम्म नलड्नु भंन्या हुकुम आयाको थियो तपनी हिउ पऱ्याको छ भंन्या वाहाना गरि आलटाल गऱ्याको थियो घा भयो भंन्या चिठी आजसम्म नेपालवाट आयेन अव मैले लडाञी थाम्या भन्या नेपाल दर्वारवाट मलाई त तक्सीर लागन्या छ तस निमित्त तिमीहरूसंग लडाञी गर्नालाई फौजली म आउन्याछु लडछु भन्या पनी तिमीहरुको षुसी लडाञी नगरी जमीन छोडी जान्छौ भन्या पनी तिमीहरुको षुसि अव लडाञी थामन सकिदैन शुभ्म् --------

ज्येष्ठवदी १ रोज ५ मा

तस्तै विचमा श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरवाट श्री जनरल भाइ जनत्सम्शेर जङ् कुवर राणाजीलाई जुवाफ लेषी गयाको उप्रान्त साजवेहानमा झुगाकिल्ला पनी सरहुन्याछ तोपषरषर्जाना रसद पानी मद्दतलाई फौजवरावर रवाना गर्दैछु अफीसरहरूलाई पनी वषत विचार गरि षपकिर स्यावासी गर्दैछु भनी लेख्याका कुरालाई तोपषजाना रवाना गर्न्या र अफीसरहरूलाई वषत विचार यसकी र स्यावासी गर्दै रहन्याका म वस भयेछ झुगाकिल्लामा गोली गिराफ वरावर हान्न लागीरहचा छन् ढोका पिछे दस आठ जना भोटचाच्यापसाली वस्या भन्या धेरै मानीस षराव हुनन् की भन्याझै लाग्दछ भनीलेख्याका कुरालाई षजाना भन्याको आफू जिउ हो झुगाको किल्ला माटाले वनायाकामा लाषौ गोलाहान्या पनी विग्रन्या रहेनछ किल्ला भित्रका घरहरू धेरै गोला गिराफहान्या पछि सवै विग्रन्या छन् ति घर वाकी रहचा पनी आफैंलाई काम लाग्न्याछ तसर्थ धेरै गोलागिराफ षजाना मात्र षर्च गरि पुग्दैन आफनु षजाना पनी कम षर्च हुन्या किल्लाभित्रका घर पनी सावुद हुन्या आफनु फौज पनी नविग्रन्या तजवीजसंग हमला गरि किल्ला भित्र पसी झुगाको किल्ला चाडो लिन्या काम गर शुभ्म् ----------

ज्येष्ठवदी १ रोज ४ मा

तस्तै विचमा श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर साहेवका हजुरमा श्री जनरल जगत्सम्सेर जङ्ग कुवर राणाजीवाट चऱ्हाई पठायाको भोटचाले लेख्याका चिठीका पुर्जि चऱ्हाई पठायाको हो दोभास्या आयापछी त्यो चिठी पठाउँदा उत्तर तिरको वाटो षोली वक्स्या वढीया होला भन्या मुद्दा लेख्याको रहेछ . वल थप नालाई होकी भागनालाई हो भन्या मलाई तजवीज पऱ्यो . जुक्तिले हुन्या भया किल्ला पनी नविगारौ मानिस पनी किन मारौ भंन्या तजवीज ठहर्दा तिमीहरू भागन्या भया भाग भागन्यालाई हामी मार्न्या छौन भोली भन्या हामी स्मेत् आइ तिमीहरूको किल्ला टुक्रटुक्रा पारि हमला गरि तिमीहरूको ज्यू जाहान येक नराषी मार्न्या छौ आफु जान भनी येस चिठीको जवाप लेषी पठाञा . श्री भैरवनाथ पल्टन अस्ति पानीघाट थुन्न जादा किल्लाका साऱ्है नगीज वस्याको रहेछ र नीज पल्टनलाई आफ्नै जगामा वस्न जाउँ भनि उर्दि दिंदा छाउनीमा गै वस्दा हामीलाई वाटो दियाछन् भंन्या जस्तो मानेछन र ५।७ घडी रात चढ्दा देषी भागनाको सुरगरेछन् आफ्ना विकटको वन्दुक पटक्याको सुन्दा हाम्रा फौज सवै होशियारसंग तैयारी भै षडा भया विकटका वन्दुकको अवाज र हाम्रा फौजको हमलाको षैलावैला सुन्दा भोटचाको फौज येकैचोटी किल्लाको ढोका षोली हाम्रा विकटको अन्तरसन्तर पारी जत्रतत्रवाट भागी गया त्यो भाग्याको हौडा सुनी अरू

पल्टन किल्लामा पस्यो श्री पुराना गोरष र भैरवनाथ जङ्गनाथका केही सिपाहीले लषेटी दिंदा उनले छोडी गयाका हातहतियार वषुपाषी भाडावर्तन ल्याइराख्या छन् अरू सवैज्मा भैसकियाको छैन किल्ला भित्रको दर्वार ध्यांङगुम्वा कोट केही हेरियाको छैन भरे भोलि वुझिजतो जाँच गरि लेषी चऱ्हाई पठाउँला षजाना षर्च नगरि मानिस नमराई वैसाष श्रुदी १५ रोजका दिन ९ घडीरात वाँकीमा झुगा किल्लासरभै हामी किल्ला भित्र पसी फत्यनामाका २१ तोपको सलाम्री गऱ्यौ त्यो जगामा येस्तो किल्ला करवर रूपैयोले पनी वनीसकन्या छैन यो वाटो आयो भन्या चिनको लस्करका मुहुडा पनी मार्न सकीन्यारहेछ किल्ला भित्र हामी जादा लामा र अरू वुढावुढी केटाकेटी भोटच स्मेत् ६०।७० जना रहच्या छन् इन्हेरूसंग येस किल्ला लस्कर कति थियो भनी सोद्धा लडन्या जवान सातसयेमा घटी थियन हजुर पालनु हुँदा लस्कर धेरै देषी भाग्यो भन्दछन् अघी चेन्टुढेवाले टासिगाउँको लडाञी हार्न्या वित्तिकै ञाहाको असवावस्मेत चौरिमा वोकाई लग्यो भन्छन् . ञाहा तोप पल्टन राषी केही पल्टन तोपली सरासर टिगरी जान आटच्याको थियो रसदले नपुग्दा येसै किल्लामा वसी गोलाले भन्क्याविग्र्याको किल्ला वनाउन लाउछ . ञाहा आइपुग्याका पल्टन र पिपाषलासीमा चाहीदो ञाहा किल्लामा राषी अरू पल्टन पिपाषलासीलाई केरुंदेषी झुगासम्म लामवाधी वरोवर रसद दारूवा चलाउन लाउछ . केही टिगरी मैदान तिर पनी चेवा छोडन्याछु . ञाहा अघी भाग्याका लामारैतिहरुलाई पनी ज्मागरीषाति जामलत गरि दिन्छु . मुकाम झुगा किल्ला शुभ्म् -- श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा ताक्लाषारका भुषीया लोप्पा दुनिञाले पिछा पर्न आउदां राख्याको नजराना वमोजिम तपसील----------

तपसिल

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सर्दु थान ----------१

तेमासि रुपैया ----------२॥

याता थान ----------१

आषाडवदी ७ रोजमा कविलासको लामाले ल्यायाको –

सुनपाउलो ----------१

फर्कावादी रुपैया ----------१

सर्दु थान ----------१

तसि षाता ----------१

अधिक आषाडसुदी १० रोज १ मा ----------

मानसरोवर छुइगुम्वाको नेर्पाले ल्यायाको ------

सुनपाउलो ----------१

मोहर रुपैया ----------१

सर्दु थान ----------१

तसिषाता ----------१

मानसरोवरको घुमुगुम्वाको पुजाहारि लेल्पायाको ---

मोहर रुपैया ----------१

सर्दु थान ----------१

तसिषाता ----------१

ताकलाषारकोटमा पाइयाको र ताकलाषार गाउँ गाउँवाट भिकी ज्मा गर्‍याको अघी लेषी जाहेर गरि पठायाको कलम्स्मेत ज्माहतियार ----------

ताकलाषार कोटमा पाइयाको ----------

लस्करि वन्दुक नाल ----------१७१

कुन्दा भया नभयाको सावुद फुटटुट नाल -----१६६

टुक्राटुक्री ----------५

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च्यापसा सावुद र टुटफुट स्मेत ----------४०

ढाल छालाले मोडचाको पोका ----------४

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ताकलाषार गाउँवाट भिकि ज्मा गर्‍याको ज्मा ---

कुंदा भया नभयाको गरी लस्करी वंदुक नाल ---१

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रात्री गत घटी १८ पला ५७ जादा जुमलावाट

ताकलाषार तरफ रवाना भयाका पल्टनले प्रभुमीप्रवेसको सायत ----------१
दिन गत घटी ७ पला ३१ जादा कुतीतर्फ रवाना हुनालाई श्री जनरल धीरसम्सेर जङ्ग कुवर राणाजी श्री कर्णैल कुलमानसिंह वस्न्यात् श्री ५ सर्कारमा विदा भयाको सायेत ----------१
दिनगन घटी १४ पला ७ जादा नीज जनरल कर्णैल कुती तरफ रवाना भयाको ----------१

ज्येष्ठवदी २ रोज ५ मा

ताहापछि श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा श्री जनरल जगतसम्सेर जङ्ग कुवर राणाजीवाट लेषी चऱ्हाइ पठायाको कर्णैल सनक सिं षत्रीलाई झुगा हान्न जानु भनी मर्जि भयाको रहेछ . स्याफ्रुदेषी पांसिंटारसम्म रसदको काम गरि रहचा छन् . अव पांसिंटारदेषी झुगासम्म लाम वाधन वाकी छ जो सनक सिं षतृ ताकीता गर्नन सिंहवीर पाडेवाट होइसकन्या छैन . ८।१० दिनता इनलाई वुझ्नै पनी लागन्या छ . अवर झुगा किल्ला सर भै गयो सनक सिं षतृलाई पनी झिकाइरहचाछु आइपुगन्या वित्तिकै १ दिन ञाहा राषी सल्लाह गरि इनले भन्या माफिकको दस्षत गरि मद्दतलाई ञाहा आइपुग्याका २।३ पल्टन स्मेत् पठाई रसद चांडो आउन्या काम गर्न लाउन्या छु . कर्णैल त्रिवीक्रम सिं थापा म सितै छन् . किल्लामा रहचाको माल असवाप हातहतियार अंन नून वुझि जगा जगामा राषन्या काम गर भनी अऱ्हाइ काममा लाई राख्या छु . मधेसवाट आयाका रसद गैऱ्ह वुझी थनक्याउन भनी मेजर कपतान समेत सिं कुवरलाई राख्याको छु झुगाका रैयत भला मानिस ज्मा गरि षानिर्जामाको तस्तसल्लह गर भनी मेजर कपतान वलभद्र माझिलाई लाइराख्याको छु . किल्ला आइभत्क्याको वनाउनु ठाउंठाउंमा तोपको मारु किल्लाभित्र रहेन छ र श्री लेफटेन्ट जनरल दाज्यैज्यूबाट गोलंदाजर अफिसर श्री भैरवनाथ पल्टन स्मेत ली मारू वनाउनु हवस् भनी उर्दि दिञा जंगीं गोला फुटन्या गोला वम्ले कोटघर घ्याङ किल्लाभित्र विग्ग्राका घरहरू र जगाजगामा साफ गर्न भत्क्या विग्ग्राको वनाउन कपतान रणसुर विष्टलाई लाञा किल्लाभित्र इनार छ पानी नषानु भनी मर्जि भयाको थियो किल्लाभित्र इनार १ मात्र रहेछ पानी सुक्याको छ अरूका मकाम सक्यापछी इनार षंन्या काम गरौला मुकाम झुगा किल्ला शुभ्म् -------

षाम भित्रका पुर्जिको नक्कल

किल्लाभित्रको असवाप तहकित नभै अंदाजले विंति चऱ्हाइ पठायाको होनुन् मुरी ३००० चावल सत्तु पिठो गरि मुरी २००० वन्दुक हातहतियार थाघना घरा पाषी वषु गैऱ्ह भाडावर्तन तहकित भयाको छैन सुनाचादी नगद केही देख्याको छैन शुभ्म् ----------

जेष्ठ वदी २ रोज ५ मा

तस्तै वषत्मा श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा श्री मेजर जनरल कृष्न धोज कुवर राणाजीवाट लेषी चऱ्हाई पठायाको ताहा पल्टन १ ज्माउनु परयो ५०० देषी १०० जवान सम्मको नञा पल्टन १ वैसाषका १० दिन जादासम्ममा जति भर्ना गर्न सकछ भर्ना गरि भर्ना भयाका जवानको नामासीफर्द लेषी ञाहा पठाई दिन्या काम गर . ताहा पठाई दिन्या काम गर ताहा भर्ना भयाका पल्टनलाई मंडीका ११।१२ सालको आम्दानी मध्ये तलव दिन्या काम गर्नु भनी लेषी वक्स्याको हो . पत्र आउने मात्रै भर्ना गर्न लाग्याको थिञा वैसाषका १० दिन जादासम्ममा भर्ना भयाको जवानको नाउनमेसी फर्द उतारी चऱ्हाई पठायाको छ जाहेर होला .

पुस्तावाली कागज हाल ताकलाषार जानु पर्न्या कागज लेषी आये नर नामासी हाजीर मात्रै चऱ्हाई पठायाको छ . अरू पल्टनका पुस्तावाली कागज चऱ्हाइ पठाउंदा नऱ्या पल्टनको पनी पुस्तावाली चऱ्हाइ पठाउला ताकलाषारको वेहोरा वुझ्दा ताकलाषारैमा भन्या फौज ज्मा भयाको छैन भन्या कुरो गर्छन् काही लपिछपि फौज रहच्याको छ की कसो हो हेरि वुझि सोही माफिकको तयारी गरी हाल्याका काम गरूला . ताकलाषार पुग्या पछी विंति चऱ्हाइ पठाउंन्या काम गरुंला हामी र येही मितीका रात्रीको सायतमा भोटको मुलुक कुलचनालाई कुच गऱ्यूं मुकाम यारिसैचली चलाउं शुभ्म् ----

ज्येष्ठवदी ३ रोज ६ मा

तस्तै विचमा श्री प्राइममिनिष्टर साहेवका हजुरमा श्री जनरल जगत सम्सेर जङ कुवर राणाजीवाट लेषी चऱ्हाई पठायाको झुगा किल्लामा अघि टिगरीवाट आउंन्या फौजसंग कोही रैति निस्की वन पस्याका रहच्याछन् . तस्तै विचमा हामीवाट किल्ला सर भयो र चारैतरफ ढोकामा पहारा राषी जोतेर किल्ला भीत्र भयाको नुन् अंन पानी कसैलाई वाहिर निकलन नदीनु ल्याई यकै थाउमा ज्मा गरि राषनु भनी अऱ्हाई दिंदा करुसन्तुके राउंनु नगरि कसैका घरमा १०।२०।४०।६०।८० मुरीसम्म पनी रहेछ ज्मा गरि यकै थाउमा राख्याको छ जो घ्याङ गुम्वामा रहन्या लामाहरू र निस्कन नपाउन्या वूढावुढी किल्लैभित्र वस्याका रहच्याछन् . इनको अन्न पानी भाडावर्तन इनैलाई थामी दिऱ्या . अरू दुस्मन् सित मिली भागी जान्या र अघीवाटै भागी जान्या रैतिहरूलाई हामीलाई मान्छौ भन्या तम्रो ज्यूधन केही हुन्या छैन भनी मैले दम दिलासाको वेहोरा लेषी भोटच्या अक्षरको चिठी पठाई दिंदा कोही सामेल हुन आयेनन् . अवर तिमीलाई मान्छौं किल्ला गुलजार गर्छौं भनी १।२ घर आउन लागीरहचा छन् . तिमीहरूको मालताल जो आउन्याहरूको फिर्ता गरिदिन्या होकी नदिन्या हो जोमर्जि मुकाम झुगा किल्ला शुभ्म् ---------

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